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The open door policy of Liberia

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The Open Door Policy of Liberia

An Economic History of Modern Liberia

F. P. M. van der Kraaij

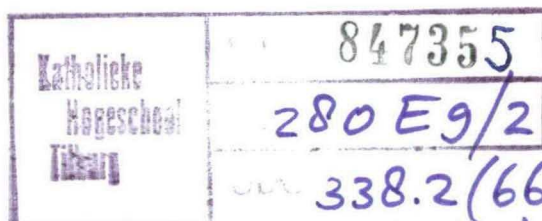
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The Open Door Policy of Liberia

An Economic History of Modern Liberia

F. P. M. van der Kraaij



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FOOTNOTES INTRODUCTION

1. The uncertainty with respect to the size of the territory also concerns the administrative subdivisions such as counties, territories a.s.o. Hasselman: 1979, pp. 64-70.
2. Clower: 1966, p. 3.
3. First Inaugural Address of President Arthur Barclay, January 4, 1904, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 203.
4. First Inaugural Address of President Edwin James Barclay, January 4, 1932, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 292.
5. First Inaugural Address of President William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman, January 3, 1944, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 321.
6. First Inaugural Address of President Arthur Barclay, January 4, 1904, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 191.
7. First Inaugural Address of President William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman, January 3, 1944, in: Guannu: 1980, p.311-312.
8. During the Tubman era (1944-1971) members of the Tubman, Padmore, Barnes, Brewer, Grimes, Sherman, Weeks, Anderson and Yancy families climbed high on the political ladder. After Vice-President William Tolbert succeeded President Tubman in 1971, they were replaced by members of the Tolbert clan: the Tolbert, Hoff, David, McClain, Holder and Pierre families. Both Tubman and Tolbert used Liberians of tribal descent, to broaden their political base and to compensate for the loss of support from some Americo-Liberian families by giving them high positions in their Government or even cabinet posts.
9. First Inaugural Address of President William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman, January 3, 1944, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 319.
10. See Bibliography.
11. Presidential Papers: July 23, 1971-July 31, 1972; p. 556.
12. See Bibliography for the full titles of the works of these authors.
13. This opinion does not seem to be inconsistent with what is expressed by Lowenkopf (1976) in a recent political study on Liberia: "(...) He (Tubman) paved the way for a peaceful transition into the modern sector by those tribal people who were needed to man the new concessions and to service the new industries. (...) These two aspects of change, economic and political, were interdependent. But if economic growth has been the prerequisite or foundation of political modernization - as I maintain - then it must also be noted that the latter lagged far behind the former. (...) " p. 46.
14. Second Inaugural Address of President Edwin James Barclay, January 6, 1936, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 302-303.
15. Townsend: 1969, p. 332.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 1

1. Niane and Suret-Canale: 1961; p. 13.
2. Karnga: 1926; p. 1.
3. Karnga: 1926; pp. 3 - 5.
4. Karnga: 1926; p. 11.
Karnga uses the denominations Kpese for Kpelle, Mendi in
stead of Mende; Gbopoes, Gedeboes and Gruvos refer to the
Grebos and Maa to the Manos. Other authors have spelt the
names of the Liberian tribes differently. Roberts et al.
mention (1972, p.51) the following alternatives: Malinke
(Mandingo), Gbande or Bandi (Gbandi), Kpessi or Kpwesi
(Kpelle), Dan (Gio), Ma or Mah (Mano), Kissi or Gissi
(Kisi), De or Dey (Dei) and Krou or Kruman (Kru).
5. An account of a fight between members of the Bush Grebo and
Seaside Grebos which occurred in September 1976 in the
capital is given in The Liberian Age, Sept. 10, 1976, p. 2
("Police Quell Grebo Rioters").
6. The name Vai is probably a corruption of the word Umvalli,
as the leader of this group was called. Karnga: 1926; p. 11.
7. Niane and Suret-Canale: 1961; pp. 47 - 51 and Karnga: 1926;
p. 12.
8. Harry Johnston: 1906; Vol. 1, p. 18.
9. Johnston: 1906; pp. 49 - 52.
10. Rodney: 1972; pp. 103 - 112.
11. Johnston: 1906; pp. 71 - 74.
12. Johnston: 1906; pp. 83 - 104, and Cassell, 1970; p. 310.
13. Huberich: 1947; Vol. 1, p. 24.
The Governor of the Indiana State Board of Colonization in
the U.S.A. in 1855 motivated the support of the colonization
efforts as follows: "(...) We must look to this land for the
elevation of the African, for the separation of the white
and colored races, and for the removal or mitigation of a
great source of evil. I recommend that you continue the
annual appropriation for the cause of colonization (...)",
in: "Governor's Message delivered to the General Assembly of
the State of Indiana, January 4, 1855."
14. Huberich: 1947; pp. 616 - 617.
15. Huberich: 1947; p. 45, pp. 76 - 78, and pp. 636 - 637.
16. The by all standards scandalous way in which this settlement
was started by the British Government is well described by
Huberich: 1947; pp. 8 - 11.
17. Huberich: 1947; pp. 195 - 196.
18. Huberich: 1947; pp. 204, 243, and 263.
19. Huberich: 1947; p. 191.
Others even estimate the value of the goods much lower,
about fifty dollars. See Thomas Hamilton Walker, "History of
Liberia", 1921.
20. Huberich: 1947; pp. 199 - 213.
21. Huberich: 1947; pp. 209 - 210.
22. Brown: 1941; p. 20.
23. Huberich: 1947; p. 22.

24. Huberich: 1947; pp. 568 - 579.
25. Huberich: 1947; pp. 578 - 584.
26. Banks Henries: 1954; p. 70.
27. Huberich: 1947; pp. 611/612.
A very interesting book in this respect is "A Slaver's Log Book or 20 Years' Residence in Africa", the Original 1853 Manuscript by Captain Theophilus Conneau. Intonto (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs. N.J.), Captain Theophilus Conneau is the same as the slave trader Canot, the different spelling is due to the fact that Conneau's brother, a physician at the Royal Court in France, would have found himself in a compromising situation if his brother's real name had been known. In the 70th Chapter of this book is described how the black colonists co-operate with a slave trader in order to fight the aborigines - occasioned by the murdering of Finley.
28. Yancy: 1971; pp. 100 - 106. Yancy here describes a successful expedition of black colonists and three U.S. naval vessels against Theodore Canot in 1828. See also footnote 27.
29. Yancy: 1971; p. 80.
30. Roberts et al: 1972; p. 12.
Huberich reports a settler-population of 2,281 for the same year (Huberich: 1947; p. 567).
31. Karnga: 1926; p. 39.
32. Yancy: 1971; p. 155.
33. Huberich: 1947; pp. 612, 613, and 615.
However, on p. 611 and 615 it is reported that in 1842 "Mississippi in Africa" joined the Commonwealth of Liberia.
34. Yancy: 1971; p. 170.
35. Author's estimate. Huberich reports for 1843 912 inhabitants of Monrovia while data for subsequent years are missing. Huberich: 1947; p. 767.
36. In conformity with Article 25 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Liberia. Figures are based on author's estimate.
37. Huberich: 1947; pp. 824/825, 841, 842, and 846 (footnote 103).
38. Record keeping has always been an impossible task in Liberia and consequently practically all records of this event have disappeared. The then U.S. Government Agent for Recaptured Africans in the colony of Liberia, Dr. W. Lugenbeel, wrote shortly after the September elections the following to the Secretary and Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, the Rev. William McLain: *"At the election, which was held on the 27th ultimo, all the votes taken in Monrovia (111) were for the Constitution; at New Georgia, 31 for, 3 against; at Caldwell, 22 for, 6 against; at Millsburg, 21 for, none against; at Marshall, 4 for, 12 against; at Bassa Cove, 9 for, none against; at Bexley, 16 for, none against; at Sinoe, none for, 37 against. Those who were opposed to the Constitution at Bassa Cove and Bexley did not vote at all; and at Edina the opponents would not allow the polls to be opened; consequently there was not any voting at that place.*

Thus, it happened that of all the votes taken 214 were in favor of the new constitution and 58 against its adoption. If the opponents had all voted I suppose the majority in favour of it would not have exceeded 50". In: Huberich: 1947; p. 846.

Liberian historians like Karnga, Banks Henries, Yancy, and Nathaniel R. Richardson, who all wrote textbooks to be used in the Liberian schools, never mentioned these facts, but preferred to omit them deliberately.

39. One notable fact is that Liberia is a unitary State and the United States form a federation. See for other interesting comparisons between the two Constitutions Charles H. Huberich's "The Political and Legislative History of Liberia", vol. 2.
40. At the first session of the National Legislature of the new Republic an Act was passed, on February 1, 1848, which defined the territorial limits of the Republic in 1848 as follows: "(...) A line commencing at the mouth of the Grand Cape Mount River, on the North West, running along the centre of that river to its source, or to the interior frontier of the Cape Mount section of the Vey territory, then by a line running Eastwardly, separating the territory of the Vey and Dey tribes, from the territories of the contiguous interior tribes, until it strikes the Northern boundary of the Millsburgh purchase thence along the North Eastern boundary of the Millsburgh purchase and through the trace of country lying between the said Millsburgh purchase and Junk, until it strikes the Northern angle of the purchase of Junk territory, thence along the interior boundary of the purchase from Bassa to the St. John's River; thence across the St. John's and along the interior boundary of the territory of the Atlantic tribes from whom the purchases were made, until it reaches the South Eastern front of the Grand Cesters territory, thence in a South Westerly direction to the ocean at Grand Cesters in 40 and 41 north latitude; and 80 and 61 west longitude, being a mean parallel distance from the Ocean, of Forty-five miles; thence along the sea coast in a North Westerly direction to the place of commencement including all rivers, harbors, bays, islands, and such a distance out in the ocean as is determined by the law of nations, to be just and proper in such cases, or as security, protection and a wholesome jurisdiction may demand", In: Huberich: 1947; vol. 2, pp. 1011/1012. Liberian expansionism and border conflicts with colonial European neighbours would subsequently change this (see Chapter 2).

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 2

1. Hargreaves: 1962; p.191.
2. Brown: 1941; p. 136/137.
In 1861 the Secretary of the Interior noted that more than 4,500 re-captured Africans had been landed in Liberia in a period of a little over one year. See Clendenen, Collins, Duignan: 1966; p. 27.
3. Karnga: 1926; p. 11.
4. See e.g. Davis: 1975; p.59.
5. Brown: 1941; p. 136/137.
6. Hargreaves: 1962; p. 193.
See for some interesting views on the cultural luggage some ex-slaves carried to Africa, Miller: 1975; pp. 92 - 108.
7. Lynch: 1970; p. 36.
8. Huberich: 1947.
9. Davis: 1975; p. 62.
10. Holder: 1970/1971; pp. 21 - 31.
11. Akpan: 1975; pp. 1 - 8.
12. Syfert: 1975; pp. 109 - 113.
13. Brown: 1941; p. 141 - 143.
14. Written records of this period usually only refer to the agricultural (and commercial) activities of colonists and foreign companies. The tribal people are usually mentioned as being engaged in agriculture - on a subsistence level - and as a source of supply of agricultural products such as palm kernels and palm oil, piassava, and rice, of gold and ivory, of hides, and of labour. Within the frame-work of this book it is here less relevant to elaborate on the subsistence economy of the tribal people.
15. Akpan: 1975; p. 21.
16. Akpan: 1975; p. 18.
17. Karnga: 1926; p. 41.
18. They were President C.T.O. King and his Vice-President Allen N. Yancy who resigned in 1930. See also Chapter 13.
19. This was President E.J. Roye who in 1871 was killed under mysterious circumstances (see Annex 1).
20. Hargreaves: 1962; p. 202.
21. Richardson: 1959; p. 90.
22. The territory of the State of Maryland in Africa comprised according to its Constitution of 1853 (Art.I, Sect.2) the following: *"That the territory of the State between the North Western boundary line of Garroway, and the Eastern line of Grand Taboo, on the line formed by the river San Pedro on the East, be divided into two divisions to be styled the Western and Eastern Districts; that the former be known as comprising all the lands, harbors, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and the Atlantic waters thereunto appertaining, between the Eastern margin of the river Cavalla, and the line joining the Nefan or Poh river people's lands on the extreme Western boundary of the Garroway territory; and that the latter be known as embracing all the lands, harbors, bays, rivers, etc., as*

aforementioned between the extreme Eastern boundary line of Grand Takoo on the line formed, by the river San Pedro on the East, and the said Eastern margin of the river Cavalla". In: Huberich: 1947; p. 1013.

See for a detailed history of the growth of the colony, its independence and the merger with the Republic of Liberia: Penelope Campbell: 1971.

23. Cassell: 1970; p. 249.
24. Brown: 1941; p. 132.
25. Sherman: 1948; p. 43.
26. Third Inaugural Address of President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, December 3, 1851, in: Guannu: 1980, p.14.
27. Cassell: 1970; p. 173/174.
28. Cassell: 1970; pp. 216 - 220. Lynch: 1970; p. 43.
29. Akpan: 1975; p. 142.
30. Richardson: 1959; p. 188.
31. Akpan: 1975; pp. 129 - 151.
32. Davis: 1976; p. 47.
Notably Kru people were popular among European ship owners who hired them to work on their ships which were travelling along the coast of West Africa, sometimes even as far as the Central African region. Various factors account for this popularity. The hiring of Kru people became an activity which resulted in a more or less systematic "export of labour" which the Liberian Government legitimized. The latter also seized this hiring as an opportunity to increase its revenues. However, the legitimacy of this "export" did not prevent the abuse of this "trade" by members of the Liberian elite. The Kru revolts in the 1910's, the Slavery Scandal of 1930, and the Kru revolt of the early 1930's must be seen in the light of this abuse. Interested readers in this respect are referred to Davis: 1976; as well as to George E. Brooks Jr.: 1972. Also: Gary G. Kuhn: 1975; pp. 43 - 53, and Sundiata: 1975; pp. 25 - 42.
33. See the Inaugural Addresses of Presidents Joseph Jenkins Roberts, Stephen Allen Benson, Daniel Bashiel Warner, James Spriggs Payne, and Edward James Roye, in: Guannu: 1980; pp. 1 - 86.
In 1904, President Arthur Barclay acknowledged that "(...) *I have never heard our present commercial policy defended on any other ground than that of fear of the European. And in this term I would like to be understood as including the white Americans*". In: First Inaugural Address of President Arthur Barclay, January 4, 1904 (Guannu: 1980; p. 200).
34. See Annex 2.
35. Syfert: 1975; pp. 120 - 123.
36. Syfert: 1975; pp. 120 - 123.
37. Syfert: 1975; p. 116.
38. Syfert: 1975; p. 122.
39. Akpan: 1975; pp. 138 - 140.
40. Akpan: 1975; pp. 143 - 144.
41. Akpan: 1975; p. 146.

42. In the last year of the (first) Payne Administration, 1869, the Liberian Government bought on credit nearly \$ 40,000 worth of arms from the U.S. Government to be able to fight the Vais who had rebelled against the 1864 Ports of Entry Act. In 1893, during the Administration of President Cheeseman a gun-boat was bought. This boat was used against the Grebos of Half Cavalla who had separated themselves from the Republic of Liberia, also in protest against the Ports of Entry Law. In 1895, during the same Administration, another gun-boat was bought by the Liberian Government to quell any future rebellions. These military expeditions against the revolting tribal people together with the indemnizations imposed by foreign Governments, notably the British, cost the Liberian Treasury much money, needed to run only public affairs.
43. Davis: 1976; p. 48.
44. Davis: 1976; pp. 46 - 49.
45. Akpan: 1975; p. 148.
46. Second Inaugural Address of President Stephen Allen Benson, January 4, 1858, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 26.
47. Lynch: 1970; p. 42.
48. Lynch: 1970; p. 38.
49. Platform and Revised Rules and Regulations of the True Whig Party, Voinjama: 1975; p. 5.
50. Lynch: 1970; p. 50.
51. Syfert: 1975; pp. 109 - 113.
52. Lynch: 1970; p. 49.
53. Banks Henries: 1963; pp. 48 - 51.
54. Inaugural Address of Edward James Roye, January 3, 1870, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 79.
55. Inaugural Address of Edward James Roye, January 3, 1870, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 80.
56. Inaugural Address of Edward James Roye, January 3, 1870, in: Guannu: 1980, pp. 83-84.
57. Inaugural Address of Edward James Roye, January 3, 1870, in: Guannu: 1980, p. 84.
58. Inaugural Address of Edward James Roye, January 3, 1870, in: Guannu: 1980, pp. 82-83.
59. Akpan: 1975; pp. 155 - 157.
60. Brown: 1941; p. 143.
Also Banks Henries mentions this amount of \$ 40,000 (1966, p. 147).
61. Karnga: 1926; pp. 45 - 47.
62. The reaction was a cannon-ball through his house. In: Richardson: 1959; p. 106.
63. Platform and Revised Rules and Regulations of the True Whig Party, Voinjama: 1975; p. 6.
64. Richardson: 1959; p. 89.
65. It has never been clearly and unequivocally established that Vice-President Smith succeeded to President Roye (see Annex 1).
66. Sherman: 1948; p. 65/66.
67. Akpan: 1975; p. 151/152.
68. Johnston: 1906; p. 282.

69. Akpan: 1975; p. 144.
70. Lynch: 1970; p. 157/158.
71. Reportedly, Blyden's behaviour was based on his conviction that the boundary between Liberia and Sierra Leone was artificial and only temporary.
He strongly favoured the merger of the two territories.
Lynch: 1970; p. 158.
72. Johnston: 1906; p. 280.
73. Lynch: 1970; p. 184.
74. Sherman: 1948; p. 71
75. Lynch: 1970; p. 184
76. Richardson: 1959; p. 189.
77. Richardson: 1959; p. 189.
78. Lynch: 1970; p. 185.
79. Martin: 1969; p. 32.
80. Johnston: 1906; p. 286.
81. Lynch: 1970; p. 3.
82. Lynch: 1970; p. 162.
83. Akpan: 1975; p. 157/158.
84. The first concession was granted to one Benjamin Thompson of London (1887). Two years later the Liberian Government granted another rubber concession, this time to Ellis Parr, Lathan W. Whitehall and Richard Pearson of London. In 1894 another Englishman, Lord Raglan, succeeded in establishing exclusive rights with respect to the rubber sector.
(In: Cassell: 1970; pp. 341 - 366).
85. Johnston: 1906; p. 419/420.
86. Johnston: 1906; p. 288/289.
87. The concessionaire was F.F. Whittekin of Tionesta, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. (In: Cassell: 1970; pp. 346 - 347 and 368).
88. Johnston: 1906; p. 299/300.
89. Johnston: 1906; pp. 286 - 300.
90. The extension of the Republic's authority into the interior - one of its old controversial issues - was at the origin of the political problems resulting in President Coleman's resignation. After an expedition - which had been organized by President Coleman - into the interior north-west of the St. Paul River had met with resistance from the Golas who successfully fought the Republican forces, increasing opposition to his policy forced President Coleman to tender his resignation. Among his opponents were Arthur Barclay (afterwards President of the Republic), C.T.O. King (afterwards President too), Daniel Edward Howard (also elected President of Liberia afterwards), and Garreston W. Gibson, who succeeded President Coleman. The succession of President Coleman, however, became a controversial issue. As the Vice-President, J.J. Ross, had died, the Speaker of the House, Robert H. Marshall, was the constitutional successor. The Liberian Legislature, however, thought and acted differently. Garreston W. Gibson, then Secretary of State - and President-elect (Johnston: 1906; p. 299) - was chosen and installed as the new President of Liberia (Richardson: 1959; pp. 112 - 114). Readers who are

- interested in more details concerning Coleman's Administration and his resignation are referred to Akpan: 1980.
91. Karnga: 1926; p. 52.
 92. Lynch: 1970; p. 170.
 93. Roberts et al.: 1972; p. 44.
 94. Brown: 1941; p. 144.
 95. Walker: 1921; p. 107, as quoted by Brown: 1941; p. 351.
 96. Brown: 1941; p. 145.
 97. Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1909, p. 15.
 98. Guannu: 1980, pp. 200-202.
 99. Guannu: 1980, p. 202.
 100. Guannu: 1980, p. 203.
 101. Richardson: 1959; p. 123.
 102. Richardson: 1959; p. 125.
In 1908 the third term of office of President Arthur Barclay started. He had succeeded in extending the Presidential term of office from 2 to 4 years - an ambition which had contributed to the fall and the subsequent loss of life of one of his predecessors.
 103. Radke and Sauer: 1980; p. 48.
 104. Sherman: 1948; p. 75.
 105. Brown: 1941; pp. 164 - 167.
 106. Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1911, p. 8.
 107. Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1909, p. 24
 108. Sherman: 1948, p. 77.
 109. Lynch: 1970, pp. 187-189.
 110. Lynch: 1970, pp. 170-171.
 111. Davis: 1976; p. 47.
 112. Haliburton: 1970/1971; p. 33.
 113. Haliburton: 1970/1971; p. 33.
 114. Haliburton: 1970 - 1971; pp. 31 - 39.
In his article ("The Prophet Harris and the Grebo rising of 1910") Haliburton presents a very interesting account of the political activities of the Prophet William Wade Harris, and the causes and effects as well as the conclusion of this war between the Greboes from Cape Palmas and the settler Government from Monrovia. He reconfirms the earlier reported conviction that Liberian History should be re-written by trying to fill the numerous gaps and correct the politically motivated distortion of objective facts which render the actual books on Liberian history incomplete and unreliable (See also Annex 1).
 115. Details of this revolt and its various consequences are to be found in the "Correspondence Between The Imperial German Consul at Monrovia and the Department of State, leading to the appointment of the German Claims Commission".
 116. Davis: 1976; p. 54.
 117. Sherman: 1948; pp. 85 - 87.
 118. Blamo: 1971/1972, pp. 25-29.
 119. See e.g., Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1908, p. 16.
 120. Blamo: 1971/1972, pp. 27-30.
 121. Report of the Experts designated by the Committee of the

- Council of the League of Nations appointed to study the problem raised by the Liberian Government's Request for Assistance (1931), p. 25. This report is hereafter cited as the "Brunot Report", named after one of these (three) League of Nations experts. (See also footnote 33, Chapter 3).
122. The Bruno Report, Appendix VI, p. 25.
 123. Banks Henries: 1966, p. 112.
 124. Sherman: 1948, p. 84.
 125. Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1908, p. 32
 126. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Fiscal Year Ended Sept. 30th, 1919, p. 11.
 127. First Inaugural Address of President Charles Dunbar Burgess King, January 5, 1920, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 261. Also in 1946 the Government attempted to move the nation's capital by making it one of the goals of the 1946 - 1950 Five Year Development Plan. It failed, however, to specify whether the location of the new capital would be in the interior or somewhere along the coast.
 128. In the early 1980's Liberia's first non-Americo-Liberian President Samuel K. Doe, who had seized power in 1980 in a bloody coup d'état, announced plans to build a new capital in the interior of the country. There were no signs indicating that the Doe-Government was aware of the existence of a sixty year old Act of the Legislature authorizing the same decision.
 129. Sherman: 1948; pp. 92 - 94.
 130. The Brunot Report, Appendix VI, p. 25.
 131. Banks Henries: 1963; p. 88.
 132. Sherman: 1948; pp. 94 - 97.
 133. Charles Huberich: 1947; pp. 1099 - 1101. See also Chapter 3.
 134. Brown: 1941; p. 62 (note 260).
 135. Though suffrage was (constitutionally) limited to some 15,000 citizens, according to the official elections result some 240,000 votes were cast in favour of Charles D.B. King. The Guinness Book of Records therefore qualified these elections as being the most fraudulent elections ever reported in world history. In: Guinness Book of Records, 1982, p. 393. Brown states that Faulkner received 9,000 votes, King 243,000 votes though there were only 15,000 qualified electors (Brown: 1941; p. 62).
 136. Visit of Doughba Carmo Carando to Freetown, 1936, p. 8.
 137. Davis: 1976; p. 55 ff. reports on the atrocious acts committed by Samuel A. Ross while Superintendent at Sinoe County. He personally flogged to death a tribal chief, had five tribal officials hanged without trial and as he controlled the "export of labour" in this region refused to implement a Governmental decision making Settra Kru a Port of Entry in 1905 as he feared the expansion of local trade might affect his monopolistic position with respect to the export of labour. Later, as a Senator, he used the Liberian Frontier Force to loot the village of Settra Kru. Davis reports that there is no record of any action taken by the Liberian Government against Ross.
 138. National Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Monrovia.

139. Brown: 1941; p. 355 (note 63).
140. The Brunot Report, p. 23/24, Appendix II.
141. First Inaugural Address of President Edwin James Barclay, January 4, 1932, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 292.
142. First Inaugural Address of President Edwin James Barclay, January 4, 1932, in: Guannu: 1980; pp. 292/293.
143. Visit of Doughba Carmo Carando to Freetown, 1936, p. 8.
144. George A. Padmore, "Five Other Presidents Of Liberia As I Knew Them: President Edwin J. Barclay, The Intellectual", in: The Liberian Age, December 8, 1978, p. 8.
145. See Chapter 10.
146. See Chapter 3.
147. Annual Message, President Edwin Barclay, 1936, p. 13
148. League of Nations, D. Mackenzie's Mission to the Kru Coast (Official No. C.662.M.319.1932.VII), 1932, p. 1. In the "British Blue Book" it is reported that 41 villages were burned, harvests destroyed, cattle, goats and poultry stolen, men abducted, women raped. One hundred and forty-one people were killed, among whom 45 women and children.
149. The British Blue Book, 1932, pp. 15 - 31. This official publication contains a British account of the atrocities committed by the Liberian Frontier Force.
150. Brown: 1941; p. 202.
151. d'Azevedo: 1970; pp. 99 - 116 and d'Azevedo: 1970 - 1971; pp. 1 - 21.
152. Twe: 1926; p. 1 and Greene: 1936; p. 113.
153. First Inaugural Address of William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman, January 3, 1944, in: Guannu: 1980; p.321
154. Sherman: 1948; p. 120.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 3

1. Chaudhuri: 1972-1974, pp. 25-27
2. Taylor: 1956, p. ix.
3. Greenwall and Wild: 1936, p. 91.
4. Wilkins: 1975, p. 100.
5. The exact size of the Mount Barclay plantation was very probably not known and this may explain why its extent had been variously reported as covering 1,500, 1,800 and 2,000 acres. The plantation was located in Louisiana, twenty miles from Monrovia, and had belonged to the Liberian Rubber Corporation. Initially, it had been started by a German planter, Humpflmayer (see Johnston: 1906, p. 452).
6. Buell: 1928 (Volume II), pp. 820-823.
7. Chaudhuri: 1972-1974, pp. 25-47.
8. The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Republic of Liberia for the Fiscal Year ended September 30, 1925.
9. See Annex 3 and Annex 4.
10. Grimes, Louis A.: 1969, pp. 291-292.
11. Buell: 1928, p. 846.
12. Chaudhuri: 1972-1974, p. 33.
13. The information that former President Arthur Barclay was Counsel for the Firestone Plantations Company in 1926 was found in the unorganised files of the National Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Monrovia, hereafter referred to as NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M. President Tubman in a speech stated that he became the lawyer for Firestone at the time of the negotiations for the 1926 Agreements ("Speech at a Dinner in Honour of A.G. Lund, President of Firestone Plantations Company", Monrovia, June 28, 1965, in: Townsend: 1968, p. 365).
14. Harvey Firestone quoted by Buell (1928, p. 823).
15. See Annex 4.
16. "Auditor's Statement as of December 21, 1930, showing application of funds derived from the 7% Loan of September, 1926" (in: L.A. Grimes Collection, Monrovia). Also see The Brunot Report, 1931, pp. 30-31.
17. The amount of \$10,000 was estimated by the present author as follows: Given the fact that the first tranche of the loan amounted to some \$2,000,000, on which 7% interest per year had to be paid, or an amount of approximately \$140,000, the transfer to the U.S.A. of the amount of interests due cost the Liberian Treasury \$1,400. Furthermore, the Government Revenues were estimated at \$500,000 to \$600,000. The 1½% commission on the Government's deposits in the U.S.T.C. Banking Department can thus be estimated at varying between \$7,500 and \$9,000 a year.
18. Buell: 1928, pp. 828-829.
19. The 1926 Planting Agreement, Article IV (n).
20. Bush: 1954, p. 13. Also see the article "Our Trip to Firestone's 25,000 Acres new Development, Division no. 9, in: "Hints, Facts, Jokes" (edited by Chas. B.S. Caine), May 31, 1930, Vol. I, No. 16-17, p. 3 (in: L.A. Grimes Collection, Monrovia). Clear signs were reported that areas had been recently abandoned by the tribal population.

21. Brown: 1941, pp. 204-205.
22. Grimes, Louis A.: 1969, p. 356 ff.
23. The Brunot Report: 1931, Appendix VI, pp. 34-35.
24. The Brunot Report: 1931, Appendix IV, p. 32.
25. Buell: 1928, p. 844.
26. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1962/1963, p. 29.
27. Annual Message, President Edwin Barclay, 1933, pp. 3-5.
28. Annual Message, President Edwin Barclay, 1933, p. 6.
29. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1962/1963, p. 29.
30. Chalk: 1967, p. 31. Also see: Simpson: 1961, pp. 141 and 181.
31. NA/(Unorganised) MFA/M.
32. Azikiwe: 1934, p. 334, and Greenwall and Wild: 1936, p. 99.
33. After the resignation of President Charles King in December 1930, President Edwin Barclay had requested the League of Nations to assist Liberia (see Chapter 2). This request had resulted in the visit to Liberia of a three member fact finding mission in June and July, 1931. It was composed of a former French Colonial Governor and expert in general administration, Brunot, R., a Dutch financial expert, Ligthard, Th., and a British medical expert, Mackenzie, M.D. (Also see Chapter 10).
34. Amendment of the 1927 Loan Agreement, dated January 1, 1936.
35. Brown: 1941, p. 204.
36. The 1926 Loan Agreement, as amended. In: NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
37. Buell: 1928, p. 770.
38. Lease Agreement of 1949, Section 3, p. 3.
39. The 1950 Supplemental Agreement to the Planting Agreement, Section 1, p. 2.
40. The 1951 Supplementary Agreement to the Planting Agreement, Section 1, pp. 2-3.
41. See e.g. the correspondence between the Department of State and the Firestone Plantations Company in the NA/(Unorganised) MFA/M.
42. The Second Supplemental Agreement of 1951, Preamble.
43. The 1953 Supplemental Agreement to the Planting Agreement, Section I.
44. The 1959 Supplemental Agreement to the Planting Agreement, Section I.
45. The 1965 Supplemental Agreement to the Planting Agreement, Section I.
46. "Report on the status of the renegotiation of the 1926 Planting Agreement of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company", Gerald Padmore, Acting Chairman Concession & Investment Commission, September 13, 1975. In: Firestone Files (Unorganised), Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia. Hereafter referred to as FF(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
47. Most information in this section is based upon the Firestone Files (Unorganised) from the Concessions Secretariat of the Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, as well as upon the National Archives (Unorganised) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Monrovia.
48. NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
49. Grimes, Louis A.: 1969, p. 287.
50. The 1926 Planting Agreement, Article II.

51. Letter dated June 12, 1940, from the Firestone Plantations Company to the Secretary of State. In: NA/(Unorganised) MFA/M.
52. NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
53. In 1943 e.g. the company's wage bill was more than \$ 1 million. In: NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
54. This excludes the profits made by the other Firestone subsidiaries in these years, notably U.S.T.C. and the Bank of Monrovia.
55. Taylor: 1956.
56. FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
57. Memorandum from Whinney, Murray and Company to the Secretary of the Treasury dated February 5, 1970. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
58. Memorandum from the Research and Revenue Analysis Section to Whinney, Murray and Company, dated December 4, 1969. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
59. See e.g. the letter from L. Kwia Johnson, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, to A.G. Lund, President of the Firestone Plantations Company, dated July 12, 1971, reproduced as Annex 5.
60. FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
61. "Firestone Plantations Company Liberian Income Tax, Tax Years 1955/1956 to 1963/1964", Firestone Plantations Company Memorandum dated January 30, 1970. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
62. In October, 1952, the Financial Advisor to the Treasury Department, K.C. Olsen, instructed the Supervisor of Revenues that Liberian income tax was not payable by the Bank of Monrovia on interest received from United States bonds and Treasury certificates. Apparently, this decision was based upon the fact that such passive interest income was not derived by the Bank of Monrovia from "operations within the Republic of Liberia" within the meaning of Section XIV of the Liberian income tax law as then in force. Olsen's instructions were followed by the then Secretary of the Treasury. In: "Firestone Plantations Company Liberian Income Tax, Tax Years 1955/1956 to 1963/1964, pp. 21-22. FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
63. Section 165 of the Internal Revenue Code of Liberia provides: "Inspection of records; preservation of records. Within seven years from the filing date of an income tax return the Bureau of Revenues may examine the taxpayer's tax returns, books and records to determine if there are errors in the returns and to levy, assess, and collect any delinquent taxes and penalties and interest thereon. In the case of fraud, the Bureau may go back to the inception of the income tax to levy, assess, and collect delinquent taxes and penalties and interest thereon. All taxpayers shall preserve their books and records for a period of seven years from the final date of filing an income tax return for that year."
64. "Statement of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue before the Tax Review Board in The Matter of the Income Tax Liability of FIRESTONE PLANTATIONS COMPANY With Respect to

- Additional Assessments for the Taxable Years Ended October 31, 1956 to October 31, 1964, Inclusive", p. 19 and p. 31 (document undated). In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
65. "Statement of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue before the Tax Review Board in The Matter of the Income Tax Liability of FIRESTONE PLANTATIONS COMPANY With Respect to Additional Assessments for the Taxable Years Ended October 31, 1956 to October 31, 1964, Inclusive", p. 8, quoting a letter from Firestone-Ohio, signed by B.H. Laramee, to the Liberian Collector of Internal Revenues, dated March 11, 1952. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
66. Letter from Eden C. Reeves, Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Income Tax Division, Treasury Department, to J.P. Carmichael, Managing Director, Firestone Plantations Company, Harbel, dated May 1, 1972. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
67. The then Deputy Commissioner of Income Tax in the Ministry of Finance, Johnny Gay, made these and other remarks during an interview with the present author in December 1978 in Monrovia.
68. In 1964 an attempt had failed to create a Free Zone Area organising Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Guinea and at the end of the 1960's there were still irregular discussions between the Governments of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. In 1973 these efforts were partly successful when the Mano River Union, a customs union between Liberia and Sierra Leone, was created.
69. See the letter from the Firestone Plantations Company to the Secretary of State, C.L. Simpson dated August 10, 1935. In: NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
70. Draft of a letter to Di Federico, President, Firestone International Company, by the Secretary of the Treasury, J. Milton Weeks, undated, p. 2. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
71. Letter from A.G. Lund, President, Firestone Plantations Company, to Hon. J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury, dated November 14, 1969. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
72. Memorandum entitled "Discussions held at the Department of Planning and Economic Affairs with Mr. deLima of Firestone International of the Proposed Tire Plant Project of Liberia", undated. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
73. Letter from Richard F. deLima, President, Firestone International Company, to the Secretary of the Treasury, J. Milton Weeks, dated October 28, 1970, p. 2. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
74. Article III, "Conciliation and Arbitration", of the Draft Agreement of October 1970 relating to the erection of a tyre plant in Liberia by Firestone, pp. 23-24. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. Liberia had joined the Convention for the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of other States on July 16, 1970.
75. For the most part, this section is based upon the Firestone Files (Unorganised) from the Concessions Secretariat of the Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

76. The Firestone Plantations Company processes raw latex into latex concentrate and local rubber into blocks.
77. Letter from Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, to Arthur Derr, Vice President, Firestone International Company, dated March 27, 1975 and quoting a letter of the latter dated December 20, 1974. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
78. Internal Memo of the Concessions Secretariat, undated. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
79. After weeks of research spent on the locating and studying of relevant documents concerning Firestone's pricing policy and the Liberian Government's policy in this respect, the present author began to feel increasingly embarrassed and frustrated since many documents were apparently missing from the (Firestone) files and could not be traced. One day, in November, 1978, after a discussion with the (only) Liberian in charge of the Agricultural Sector of the Concessions Secretariat, I asked him for a sheet of note paper. He opened one of the drawers of his desk and handed me some papers, typed on one side, which to my great surprise and disgust, contained part of a most valuable document for which I had been searching. No one will ever know how long the papers had obviously been lingering in and around his desk. This personal experience casts a specific light on the Liberian Government's capacity to efficiently monitor the concessionaires' operations.
80. Letters from the Firestone Plantations Company to the Concessions Secretariat, dated July 21, 1977 and September 17, 1977 respectively. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
81. See e.g. the letter from W. Edward Greaves, Under-Secretary for Revenues, to R.F. Dempster, Comptroller of the Firestone Plantations Company, dated October 7, 1969, reproduced as Annex 6.
82. This had been written before the military coup of April 12, 1980.
83. The evolution of Firestone's privileges in Liberia is well illustrated by "The Planting Agreement of 1926 with amendments of 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1950, 1951, 1953, 1959, 1962 and 1965". See Annex 7.
84. A Memorandum from the Office of the Minister, Ministry of Finance, to the Concession Commission, dated March 6, 1974, pp. 1-2. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
85. See the Letter from Arthur C. Derr, Vice President, Firestone International Company, to the Honorable Stephen A. Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated June 30, 1974, Annex B. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
86. "Report on the status of the renegotiation of the 1926 Planting Agreement of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company", Gerald Padmore, Acting Chairman, Concession & Investment Commission, dated September 13, 1975, p. 2. In: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
87. Immediately following the death of Minister Tolbert, rumours emerged in Liberia suggesting that the plane crash was not the result of an accident. The fact that Stephen Tolbert had numerous enemies, both inside and outside of Liberia, makes this possibility very likely although it has never been

proven that the plane crash was not accidental. One of the questions which remains to be answered, however, is why his brother, President Tolbert, never ordered that an investigation be carried out into the circumstances surrounding this plane crash.

88. The 1976 Firestone Concession Agreement, Section 11, sub 2.
89. The 1976 Firestone Concession Agreement, Section 16.
90. The Brunot Report: 1931, p. 31.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 4

1. The Statement of Understanding of 1947, p. 1.
2. The Statement of Understanding of 1947, p. 1.
3. The Statement of Understanding of 1947, p. 2.
4. The Statement of Understanding of 1947, Section VI ("Procedure"), sub 2(b).
5. A study which was written shortly after the signing in 1947 of the Statement of Understanding, however, still reports the existence of two different views with respect to foreign investments. One important group of Liberians strongly favoured the development of Liberia by wholly Liberian initiative even if this would result in slow development. Another group, reported to be represented by two powerfully placed unnamed Liberians, believed that Liberians should turn over the entire development of the country to foreigners (Sherman: 1948, pp. 5-6).
6. The Statement of Understanding of 1947, Section VI ("Procedure"), sub 2(a).
7. The Revised Statement of Understanding between the Liberian Government and The Liberia Company, 1949, p. 2.
8. The Revised Statement of Understanding between the Liberian Government and The Liberia Company, 1949, Article 6, pp. 4-5.
9. Sherman: 1948, pp. 108-109.
10. Simpson: 1961, p. 227.
11. McLaughlin: 1966, p. 81.
12. Clower: 1966, p. 173.
13. Letter from President Tubman to the Financial and Economic Advisor, dated April 20, 1956. In: LibCo-Files/(Unorganised) CS/MF/M.
14. Clower: 1966, p. 173.
15. Schulze: 1975, pp. 263-264.
16. The Statement of Understanding of July 12, 1952, Article 1(A) states: *"The Government confirms that no other concessions or rights of any kind have been nor will be granted to any other persons or corporation within the aforementioned three concessions."*
17. Letter from James T. Phillips, Jr. to Stephen A. Tolbert, Chairman of the Concessions Commission, dated May 22, 1973. In: AFC Files/(Unorganised) CS/MF/M.
18. The Statement of Understanding of July 12, 1952, Article 1(D).
19. It was originally stipulated that the export tax to be paid on bananas and other fruit would in no case be higher than those paid in other parts of West Africa (Article 3(C) of the 1952 Statement of Understanding). This provision had been introduced in consideration of the company's operations in Cameroon. Rubber, however, was not mentioned and when the company changed to rubber in the late 1950's, this provision became redundant.
20. Two years after both the African Fruit Company and LeTourneau of Liberia had obtained exclusive rights in the Baffu Bay area, this land was given away for a third time. In 1956, the Columbia Southern Chemical Corporation was granted one of the largest concession areas ever granted to a foreign company: covering more than 2 million acres, which included a coastal strip ten miles wide between the Mano and Cavalla Rivers, as well as

- the Baffu Bay area in Sinoe County (see Chapter 6, Annex 10). Among the (numerous) other examples available, we may cite those involving the B.F. Goodrich Company (see Chapter 5), the LAMCO J.V. (see Chapter 8) and the many conflicts between logging companies (see Chapter 9).
21. Though officially the 1926 Planting Agreement with Firestone did not provide such a clause, the Government had allowed the reality to differ from this legal but theoretical provision. In this case, an area of 1 million acres was concerned, i.e. 4% of the nation's territory and 10% of what was considered to be the arable land in the country (see Chapter 3). Only during the 1950's did the Government give foreign concessionaires the legal opportunity to drive tribal people from their lands and to evacuate their villages in an area which totaled not less than 3 million acres. This figure neither includes the vast concession area granted in 1956 to the Columbia Southern Chemical Corporation (see note 20) nor other mining concessions (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8) nor the estimated 1 million acre concession area granted to six logging companies (see Table 19). The relative importance of this figure of 3 million acres is even higher considering the fact that the area concerned included the most appropriate lands for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, for various reasons, the legal rights of these foreign investors were never exercised in the entire area. No official records have been found which give information about the actual use of this legal provision.
 22. The Port Construction Agreement of September 18, 1954, p. 2.
 23. The Port Construction Agreement of September 18, 1954, p. 2.
 24. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957/1958, p. 8.
 25. The Port Construction Agreement, Article VI(b), p. 7.
 26. The Port Construction Agreement, Article IX, pp. 7-8.
 27. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957/1958, pp. 8-9.
 28. The dollar value was calculated at the exchange rate of \$1 = DM 4.20 as mentioned in the Port Construction Agreement.
 29. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957/1958, pp. 10-11.
 30. Annual Report, Department of Commerce and Industry, 1964/1965, p. 75.
 31. In 1956 the African Fruit Company signed a Distribution Agreement with the Texas Petroleum Company, effective December 1, 1956, whereby the former became the sole distributor of the latter's petroleum products on its concession in Liberia. This Distribution Agreement was one of the few documents which in 1978 were found in the AFC-files of the Concession Secretariat, twenty years after the start of the rubber production.
 32. Letter from N.N. Hayer, General Manager of the AFC, to John Woods, Coordinator of the Concessions Secretariat, dated October 28, 1974. In: AFC Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 33. "Balance per December 31, 1972 of AFC Laeisz & Co. (Liberia), Ltd., Monrovia". In AFC Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 34. The Statement of Understanding, Article 5 reads: "The AFC shall not assign, sublet or otherwise dispose of any of the rights, grants and privileges, accruing under this Agreement, without the written consent of the Government, it being understood, however, that the AFC may assign, sublet or otherwise

- dispose of any of the rights, grants or privileges accruing under this Agreement to any corporation or company controlled by AFC."
35. Letter from Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Acting Minister of Finance, to E.E. Dennis, dated June 8, 1973. It is noteworthy that it was reported around this period that relations between Minister of Finance Stephen A. Tolbert and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, then Deputy Assistant Minister of Finance were not without problems. In: *Porte*: 1974; p. 2.
 36. The relevant correspondence between James T. Phillips, Minister of Agriculture, Ernest E. Dennis and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf clearly shows that the ambitious Minister of Finance tampered with the legal rights of other Liberians and considered these inferior to his personal interests. Stephen Tolbert clearly used his key-position of Chairman of the Concession Board to serve his own interests. The present author is in the possession of copies made of this exchange of letters between Phillips, Dennis and Sirleaf. As to the reason why the German owners of the AFC wanted to sell their company, no information could be found in the AFC Files of the Concessions Secretariat except for the fact that the company had never reported any profit. Coale reports that in 1973 German laws allowing for a large exemption from German taxes for any investment in a developing area had been changed. In the future, investments in the 25 poorest nations of the world, not including Liberia, were to benefit from a 100% exemption (Coale: 1977; p. 47). This may account for the decision to sell the concession. On the other hand, the disappointment over the rentability of a venture thought to be very profitable may also explain the decision of the German owners of the AFC.
 37. *Porte*: 1974; pp. 10-11.
 38. This may have constituted a violation of the Liberian Constitution which declares excessive fines illegal and unconstitutional (Liberian Constitution, Article I, Section 10).
 39. *The Revelation*: 1975 (Vol.III, No.1); p. 20.
 40. E.E. Dennis' mother was a sister of William and Stephen Tolbert's father, William R. Tolbert, Sr.
 41. It is realised by the present author that the AFC Files were incomplete - see the preceding section and also note 31 - and that the fragmentary character of these files do not justify any general conclusions. However, it seems very likely that loss-carry-forward privileges had never been granted to the company.
 42. AFC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 43. McLaughlin: 1966; p. 58.
 44. Cole: 1956; p. 90.
 45. An Act to Create and Establish LeTourneau of Liberia, Ltd. And to Define Its Powers (Approved May 13, 1952), Article IV.
 46. An Act to Create and Establish LeTourneau of Liberia, Ltd. And to Define Its Powers, Article XXXII.
 47. Article II of the 1952 Act creating LeTourneau of Liberia, Ltd. provides that "(...) upon the legal establishment of

- the Town of Tournata, Republic of Liberia, such town shall then be the principal office of the corporation (...)*".
48. An Act to Create and Establish LeTourneau of Liberia, Ltd. And to Define Its Powers, Article XXXIV.
 49. Clower: 1966; p. 130.
 50. Only the first mentioned concession agreement will be discussed here. Readers interested in the second named agreement are referred to "An Act Approving an Agreement Made and Entered into the 3rd Day of April A.D. 1952, By and Between the Republic of Liberia Represented by the Secretary of the Treasury Authorized by the President of the Republic of Liberia, hereinafter Known and Referred to as the "Government", Party of the First Part, and Juan Jesus Ramos Gonzales, a Citizen of Spain, hereinafter Known and Referred to as Party of the Second Part, and Operating under a Company Named and Styled, "Compania Hispano Liberiana".
 51. An Agreement made and entered into the 3rd day of April A.D. 1952, by and between the Republic of Liberia represented by the Secretary of the Treasury, Authorized by the President of the Republic of Liberia hereinafter known and referred to as the "Government", party of the first part, and Juan Jesus Ramos Gonzales, a citizen of Spain hereafter known and referred to as the party of the second part and operating under a company named and styled "Juan Jesus Ramos Associates Plantations", Article III.
 52. Oil Palm Agreement Between the Republic of Liberia and Liberian Operations Incorporated, dated December 14, 1965, Article 8, sub 1.
 53. Letter from the Management of the Liberian Operations Incorporated (LIBINC) to President Tolbert, October 1, 1973. In: LIBINC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 54. Letter from the Minister of Finance, James T. Phillips, to Paul A. Grand, dated October 31, 1978. In: LIBINC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 55. Communication of the Management of LIBINC to the Concessions Secretariat. In: LIBINC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 56. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Concession Commission, dated October 2, 1973, p. 2. In: LIBINC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 57. The following shareholders of the West African Agricultural Corp. (WAAC) were reported:

Vernon, Lynn and Wall Street Group	\$ 200,000.00
INTRUSCO	150,000.00
Macars Consortium	100,000.00
The Prospect Corp.	75,000.00
LBIDI	50,000.00
Wm.H.Muller and Co. N.V.	30,000.00
Bong Mining Company	25,000.00
West African Investment and Finance Corp.	214,125.00
Other shareholder (10)	93,437.50
Total	\$ 937,562.50
- Source: WAAC, Balance Sheet, December 31, 1971.
In: WAAC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.

58. Only in 1972 the road connection between Monrovia and Robertsport, started some thirty years earlier, was completed. During the Administration of President Tubman, born and reared in Maryland County, there were not many improvements introduced in Grand Cape Mount County. Beginning in 1971, this changed. A very plausible explanation for this is the fact that President Tolbert's wife, Victoria David Tolbert, came from Robertsport, as were many members of the Tolbert clan, notably all Hoff's.
59. Concession Agreement Between the West African Investment and Finance Corporation and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, dated September 5, 1967, Article 11.
60. Affiliated corporations are defined as companies with an interest of 5% or more in the WAAC and vice versa (The Concession Agreement of September 5, 1967, Article 9(D)).

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 5

1. Both this section on the B.F. Goodrich Company (BFG), as well as the following on the other companies, are to a great extent based on documents which in 1978 and 1979 were found in the relatively unorganised files of the Concessions Secretariat/Ministry of Finance in Monrovia. Notably the material with respect to the negotiation and preparation of the 1954 Concession Agreement with BFG was very interesting and instructive. Therefore, the present author has made full use of this valuable material which has not been published before. The support given to me, notably by the officials of the Concessions Secretariat, and which included virtual free access to the information available, has greatly facilitated the research. Here I again wish to express my sincere thanks for the understanding and cooperation which I received from official Liberian sources in making this research a unique venture.
2. Concession Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the B.F. Goodrich Company, dated July 9, 1954, Articles I and V. In future referred to as "The Concession Agreement of July 9, 1954".
3. The Concession Agreement of July 9, 1954, Article IV. Clower reports that BFG had already paid \$ 100,000 compensation which seems to provide evidence to the assertion that some people lost their crops and/or their lands because of BFG's operations (Clower: 1966; p. 182).
4. Letter from Ellen Mills Scarbrough, Acting Secretary of Public Instruction, to President Tubman, dated March 29, 1954 (852/1 - D '54). In: BFG Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
5. BFG Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M. In early 1978 officials of the Concessions Secretariat informed the present author that the same applies to the agreements with other concessionaires.
6. Clower already reported that "*(...) Goodrich may deduct as a current cost any outlays on fixed capital, which may then in turn be depreciated over the life of the assets.*" (Clower: 1966; pp. 183-184). As this had already been included in the proposal one of President Tubman's advisors, J. Rudolph Grimes, had commented on this aspect: "*Moreover, I cannot see why costs and expenses should be amortized.*", but in vain. See Grimes' letter to President Tubman, dated March 29, 1954 (2173/1). In: BFG Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
7. Memorandum from John T. Woods, Coordinator Concessions Secretariat, to Finance Minister Edwin J. Williams, dated October 30, 1975, p.1. In: BFG Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MS/M.
8. The Concession Agreement of July 9, 1954, Article II.
9. The Concession Agreement of July 9, 1954, Article II.
10. See "Questionnaire for the determination of Concession Benefits to Liberia", completed and returned by W.H. Perry, Managing Director of B.F. Goodrich Liberia, Inc. to John T. Woods, Coordinator Concessions Secretariat, dated December 3, 1974. In: BFG Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
13. Huberich: 1947.

14. Letter from Gabriel L. Dennis, Secretary of the Treasury, to J. Edmund Jones, Asst. Secretary of State, dated May 31, 1933 (1191/171/533D); Letter from J. Edmund Jones, Asst. Secretary of State to Gabriel L. Dennis, Secretary of the Treasury, dated June 9, 1933 (141/1). In: N.A./(Unorganised)/MFA/M.
15. The Concession Agreement of July 9, 1954, Article VI.
16. In late 1978 BFG proposed a Memorandum of Agreement to be signed between the Government of Liberia and the B.F. Goodrich Company supplementing the 1954 Concession Agreement. The agreement, when signed, would give the rubber company another series of privileges, ranging from tax-deductable expenditures made to re-plant the existing plantation to the extension of the maximum tax rate (25%) period to December 31, 1996. As justification for these and other privileges demanded, BFG stated the fact that it had developed a rubber plantation of about 15,000 acres, in Montserrado County, employing about 3,000 Liberians. Fortunately, the Liberian Government did not accept the proposals unchanged. Still in 1980 the Agreement had not been signed.
17. Letter from D.J. de Blocq van Scheltinga to the present author, dated May 12, 1979. The Dutch writer of this letter has been working for the Liberian Agricultural Company (LAC) since 1959.
18. According to de Blocq van Scheltinga, in early 1979 the concession area was only 100,000 acres. LAC had given 200,000 acres of its concession area in Grand Bassa County back to the Government shortly before the writing of his letter dated May 12, 1979.
19. De Blocq van Scheltinga to the present author, letter dated May 12, 1979.
20. In 1968 the road between Tchien and Harper was completed. It had been constructed by the Vianini Construction Company.
21. Document entitled "Rubber Forecast", not dated. Source: Library Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia.
22. It has been suggested that the first General Manager of LAC, who contributed much to the establishment of the company in Liberia, M. In 't Velt, a Dutch national, has also been very instrumental in UNIROYAL's buying of LAC. Prior to his coming to Liberia, M. In 't Velt had occupied a high position in one of UNIROYAL's subsidiaries in Sumatra, Indonesia. Source: De Blocq van Scheltinga to the present author, letter dated May 12, 1979.
23. LAC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
24. Letter from A.T. Thompson, Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Division of Income Tax, Ministry of Finance, to Pannell, Fitzpatrick & Co. Chartered Accountants for LAC (ITD/702/'65). In: LAC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
25. LAC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
26. The Concession Agreement of March 3, 1959, Article VII. provides that *"In calculating net income, as aforesaid, shipments or sales of rubber and other commercial products resulting from the operations under the Concession shall*

be valued or invoiced, as the case may be, at the price for the respective product, or products, of similar grade, prevailing on a recognized world market at the place of origin such as presently, in the case of rubber, the Singapore market; (...)"

27. Letter from Norman H. Goulding, Managing Director of UNIROYAL, to Finance Minister Stephen A. Tolbert, dated August 1, 1973. In: LAC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
28. Interview which the present author had with the company's General Manager, W. Boissevain, at the company's headquarters in Liberia, May 16, 1978.
29. The Concession Agreement of August 1, 1959, Article X ("Lapse of Concession"), provided that "In the event the Concessionaire shall not have carried out the development of a Development Area or Areas, consisting in the aggregate of at least ten (10) thousands (10,000) acres within ten (10) years from the effective date of this Agreement, and thereafter fails to commence such development within one (1) year after the Government shall have given notice to the concessionaire to do so, the Government may declare that the respective Concession Area in which such development has not been so commenced is forfeited."
Contrary to the Agreements with BFG and with LAC, the loss of a concession area in this case did not affect the total size of the concession owing to the formulation of Article II of the Agreement with the Salala Rubber Corporation. As in the cases BFG and LAC (when, however, the minimum area to be developed was 10,000 acres in each concession area") no records were found that the Government ever gave notice to the various companies though all three companies only claim one concession area each; BFG: an area of 300,000 acres in Montserrado County; LAC/UNIROYAL: an area of 300,000 acres in Grand Bassa County, and Salala Rubber Corporation: an area of 100,000 in Gibi Territory.
30. See Chapter 12, "Transportation and Communication 1900 - 1979". Liberians give a very plausible explanation for the fact that notably this road had been paved: President William Tubman owned a 2,000 acres rubber plantation just beyond the town of Totota and spent many a weekend on his farm.
31. Interview with Boissevain, May 16, 1978.
32. Financial Statements of the Salala Rubber Corporation: Notes to the Accounts - December 31, 1973. In: SRC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
33. See the Loan Agreements of July 31, 1962 (Article 8) and of May 25, 1965 (Article 7 and 9). In: SRC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
34. Letter from President Tubman to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 11, 1970 (2392/T - 7/'70). In: Alan Grant Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
35. Based on Alan Grant Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M. On May 16, 1978, during a short meeting with the present author, the present author, the company's General Manager, A. Jongejan, provided the information concerning the previous management's incorrect and illegal behaviour.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6

1. Hair: 1962; pp. 218-227.
2. This Liberian involvement aroused a storm of protest around the turn of the century culminating in a group of citizens threatening the then President Garretson W. Gibson, Coleman's successor. In: Karnga: 1926; p. 52. However, Johnston (1906; p. 286) reports that the Union Mining Company was completely Liberian owned as was its predecessor, the Mining Company of Liberia (see Chapter 2).
3. In 1906 the company apparently had mining rights over the counties of Montserrado and Maryland, as well as general banking, railway, telegraph and other rights throughout the country (Johnston; 1906; pp. 286-300).
4. See "An Act Amending and Enlarging The Rights and Powers of the Excelsior Mining Company Limited of Maryland County, Liberia" (1914).
5. No other proof or indication was found in respect of the foreign ownership of the Excelsior Mining Company except Section 2 of the Act Amending and Enlarging The Rights and Powers of the Excelsior Mining Company Limited of Maryland County, Liberia, of 1914, which section states: *"That the Company, nor its managers or employees, shall not practice any racial discrimination either expressed or implied in their freights and passenger rates nor shall it ever have any separate cars or portion of said cars for the carrying of Negroes only (...)"*.
6. The Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, Article V, Section 12.
7. The 1914 Act Amending and Enlarging The Rights and Powers of the Excelsior Mining Company Limited of Maryland County, Liberia. It is very likely that this was the first timber concession ever granted in Liberia to a foreign company. See Chapter 9.
8. The 1914 Act Amending and Enlarging The Rights and Powers of the Excelsior Mining Company Limited of Maryland County, Liberia.
9. The company even paid a \$ 8,000 deposit to the Liberian Treasury as a guarantee of the commencement of the railway within the prescribed time, although eight months later, in September 1914, this period had already been extended from two to three years. Finally, however, the company failed to raise the funds necessary for the venture - due to the effects of the First World War. In: Richardson: 1959; p. 129. See also "An Act Amending an Act , Entitled "An Act Amending and Enlarging The Rights and Powers of the Excelsior Mining Company Limited of Maryland County, Liberia".
10. Wotorson, Cletus S, "Preliminary Report on Dugbe-Bata Creeks Area", p. 2. In: CS/(Unorganised)/MF/M.
11. Bevervoorde, van: 1946; pp. 122-163.
12. Brown: 1941; p. 179.
13. Brownell: 1943; p. 1.
14. Schulze: 1973 (London), pp. 146-148.
15. Particularly interesting in this respect is van der Laan's

- book on the Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone (1975) in which he discusses the illicit trade. In the mid-1950's some diamond buyers from Europe even considered it worthwhile to set up an office in Monrovia. Diamond smuggling from Sierra Leone in 1955 was later estimated at £ 12 million; most of these diamonds had probably left Africa for the diamond cutting centres in Europe and Israel via Monrovia. Estimates of the volume or value of the diamonds smuggled after 1959 are scarce. (Laan, van der: 1975, pp. 175-179 and pp. 195-197). See also the book on Sierra Leone Diamonds of the same author (Laan, van der: 1965, pp. 125-145).
16. See e.g. The Annual Report, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1960/1961, p. 13; The Annual Report, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1962/1963, p. 11; Annual Reports, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1965-1971; Annual Reports, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1971-1978.
 17. Interview with the Assistant Minister for Statistics, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Phillip Gadegbeku, held in September 1977 in Monrovia.
 18. Annual Reports, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1960/1961, p. 11; 1961/1962, p. 9 and 1962/1963, p. 4.
 19. Diamond Concession Agreement with the Providence Mining Company, dated June 8, 1960.
 20. Annual Report, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1967/1968, p. 46.
 21. Annual Report, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1971/1972, p. 14. The other companies were: The Vaspal Mining Company, Zui Mining and Industrial Company (Kumbor Mining Company), Hembeh Mining Company, and Dugbor Mining Company. In: Annual Report, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1971/1972, p. 19.
 22. Other authors also have recognised private foreign companies' power position evolving to at least theoretical infringement upon the host country's national sovereignty. E.g. Wilkins reckons that private U.S. companies had obtained such a power position in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Venezuela, Chile, Surinam, and Liberia that it could well compare to a country's attribute of national sovereignty. (Wilkins: 1974, pp.406-408.
 23. Annual Reports, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1973: p. 26; 1974: p. 29; 1975: p. 17; 1976: p. 27; and 1977: p. 37.
 24. "Investment Opportunities in Sierra Leone", prepared by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for the Sierra Leone Government and designed and printed in England by Brown Knight & Truscott, Ltd. London (no date of publication), pp. 20-30. The arrangement under which Sierra Leonean miners could sell diamonds on their own behalf was made in an attempt to limit the smuggling of diamonds, notably to Liberia. In: Fleming: 1957, p. 137. Also see Laan, van der: 1965 and 1975.
 25. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1973, p. 8. In 1970 it was stated in the Annual Report of the Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys that diamond mining concessions were delinquent in reporting their activities and production to the Government according to the terms of their concessions (Annual Report, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1969/1970, p. 68).

26. Memorandum from B. Holder to the President of Liberia, dated June 7, 1972. In: DMMC file/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
27. Letter from the Minister of Justice, Clarence L. Simpson, to S. Richard Stern, President of the Diamond Mining and Management Company (DMMC), No. 8152/4, dated December 15, 1972. In: DMMC File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
28. The reason(s) for the conflict between Nisco and A.B. Tolbert has (have) not been revealed.
29. Memorandum from John T. Woods to the Deputy Minister of Finance, "Background on the Diamond Concession Agreement with Globex", dated April 23, 1973, p. 2. In: Globex file/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
30. Stern wrote to the White House, to Senators William Fulbright and Jacob Javits, and to the columnist Jack Anderson. In: DMMC File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. Copy of his letter is in the possession of the present author.
31. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Acting Minister of Finance, "Diamond Concession Agreement with Globex and African Mining Resources Corporation", dated April 26, 1973. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. The available documentation in the Concessions Secretariat does not show any consistency as to the naming of the company; it was variously called "African Mining Resources Corporation", "African Mining and Resource Corporation", and "African Resources and Mining Company, Inc." This author was not able to trace the real name of the company since a copy of the agreement with the Government could not be found.
32. Memorandum from the Concession Secretariat to the Minister of Finance, "Operations by Globex Minerals (Liberia) Inc.", dated November 21, 1974, p. 2. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
33. Diamond Mining Concession Agreement with Globex Mineral, Inc., Article XIX-i-b.
34. Annual Reports, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1974: pp. 29-30; 1975: pp. 18-19; 1976: pp. 27-30; and 1977, pp. 37-39.
35. "An Exploration Agreement Entered Into By The Government of the Republic of Liberia and Globex Minerals (Liberia) Inc." p. 1.
36. Letter from the Deputy Director for Operations of the National Force for the Eradication of Corruption, Spencer O. Edris, to President William R. Tolbert, Jr., dated August 9, 1976, pp. 4-6. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
37. Letter from the Minister of Justice, Oliver Bright, Jr., to the Minister of Finance, Chairman of the Concession and Investment Commission, James T. Phillips, Jr., dated September 21, 1976, No. 2178/4. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
38. Letter from the President of Globex Minerals (Liberia) Inc., Merritt K. Ruddock, to the Minister of Lands and Mines, Aaron J. Holmes, dated December 22, 1976, p. 3. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
39. Letter from the people of Jajawei Town, Gola Koneh Chiefdom, Grand Cape Mount County, to President William R. Tolbert, dated December 5, 1975, p. 3. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

40. Letter from the people of Jajawei Town to President Tolbert, dated December 5, 1975, p. 3. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
41. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Acting Minister of Finance, "Reports on the Operation of the Globex Mineral Company", dated October 8, 1976, p. 1. In: Globex File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
42. Upon discovery in 1978/1979 that Globex had awarded contracts to divers in its concession area, and that gravels recovered were split into thirds and subsequently shared among the diamond mining company, the contractors, and the Liberian Government (though the latter never received its share), the concession agreement was cancelled, effective March 28, 1979. Immediately after the cancellation, another U.S. company showed interest in Globex' concession area and started negotiating for a diamond mining concession agreement. The identity of the owners of this new company was not known to the present author at the time of this writing.
43. The company's concession area consisted of a maximum of 100 square miles in each of the five counties in which it had been allowed to prospect for gold under the Exploration Agreement of 1972 (see Annex 9 for more details of the Concession Agreement). In 1974, 91 square miles were selected in Grand Gedeh County (the Zwedru block), 75 square miles in Sinoe County (the Juazohn block) and 75 square miles in Lofa County (the Bopulu block).
44. Annual Report, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1975, p. 4.
45. This section provided that if the Operator had not expended a minimum of \$ 500,000 on exploration costs during the exploration period it - the Operator - would pay to the Government as liquidated damages an amount equal to the amounts not so expended. In: "Gold Mining Concession Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and African Mining Partners", Section 3.3(b), pp. 8-9.
46. Letter from the Minister of State without Portfolio, Charles A. Clarke, to the Minister of Finance, James T. Phillips, Jr., dated August 12, 1976, No. Ec.-1111-RT-IV. In: AMC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
47. Letter from Lee Edgar Detwiler to President William R. Tolbert, dated July 5, 1976. In: LGDC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
48. LGDC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
49. LGDC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
50. (1) the use of private lands; (2) the income tax liability; (3) the availability of records in Liberia; (4) the inspection by the GoL; (5) the obligation to supply third party processors and/or manufacturers in Liberia, and (6) assignment.
51. (1) definition of words and terms: the National Gold and Diamond Corporation/African Mining Partners/the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation; (2) preference to be given to Liberian goods and services: the National Gold and Diamond Corporation; (3) debt/equity ratio: Globex Minerals (Liberia) Inc./African Mining Partners/the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation.
52. The concession agreements with the Liberian Gold and Diamond

- Corporation (Article 13.2) and with the African Mining Partners (Article 13.2).
53. The concession agreements with the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation (Article 11.2) and with the African Mining Partners (Article 11.2).
54. The concession agreements with the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation (Article 9) and with the African Mining Partners (Article 9).
55. The concession agreements with the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation (Article 14) and with the African Mining Partners (Article 14).
56. The concession agreements with the Liberian Gold and Diamond Corporation, Article 15.5.
57. The concession agreements with Lawrence L. Trumbull (Article XXIII-A) and with Globex Minerals, Inc. (Article XIX-1-1).
58. The concession agreement with Globex Minerals, Inc., Article XV.
59. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Minister of Finance, "Operations by Globex Minerals (Liberia) Inc.", dated November 21, 1974, p. 2. In: Globex File/ (Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
60. The concession agreement with Lawrence L. Trumbull, Article VI.
61. The concession agreement with Lawrence L. Trumbull, Article XV-5.
62. The concession agreement with Lawrence L. Trumbull, Article XVI.
63. The concession agreement with Lawrence L. Trumbull, Article XV-6.
64. Clower: 1966; p. 38.
65. It is not known what motivated Hoogovens Delfstoffen B.V. to participate in the "Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company". The year before, the Dutch steel company had entered Liberia through a merger with the German company of Hoesch A.G.. This company owns 16.1% of Bong Mining Company's Class B Common Stock (see Schapter 8). Also, since the start of Liberia's oldest iron ore mine, the Liberia Mining Company, Hoogovens Delfstoffen B.V. (now called Estel) had had commercial relations with Liberia through the Dutch company of Wm.H.Muller. This company was L.M.C.'s exclusive sales agent for Europe (see Chapter 7).
66. The concession agreement with the Columbia Southern Chemical Corporation, Articles IX, XI, and XII.
67. The concession agreement with the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company, Article 3.2.
68. The concession agreement with the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company, Article 35.
69. The concession agreement with the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company, Article 17.2. Senior employees of the "Muller Ertzen en Mijnbouw B.V." (the parent company of the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company - see note 72) informed the present author in 1979 that the principal motivation to use this formulation had been the desire to

avoid transfer pricing. Be that as it may, the appearance of a contradiction between the Articles 35 and 17.2 of the concession agreement has not been removed with this plausible justification. Interview with G.L. Blokhuis en de Wit in the offices of Muller Ertzen en Mijnbouw B.V. in The Hague, the Netherlands, August 14, 1979.

70. The concession agreement with the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company, Article 19.1.
71. LBSEC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
72. In August 1978 the Exploration Period was extended for another year, until August 1979. In the same year two of the three Dutch investors withdrew from the venture, and the remaining financier, the Wm.H.Muller & Co., announced that he awaited more favourable market conditions before starting exploitation. In: LBSEC File/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
73. Annual Report, Ministry of Lands and Mines, 1977, pp. 41-44.
74. Among the companies which have shown an interest in Liberia's possible oil wealth are: the Ashland Petroleum Company, the Chevron Oil Company of Liberia, the Frontier Liberia Oil Company, the Universal Minerals and Oil Limited, and the Crystal Oil Company. In: Files Concessions Secretariat/(Unorganised)/MF/M.

There are only two known cases of foreign investors who concluded a concession agreement for the exploitation of oil with the Liberian Government. On August 20, 1956 an agreement was signed by the Government of Liberia and J.J. Simmons, Jr., from Oklahoma, U.S.A., granting exploitation rights in a concession area covering over 1.5 million acres. In 1964 it was reported that a concession agreement had been entered into between the Republic of Liberia and John E. Francis, a Canadian national, resident in Spain, to explore for and exploit oil in Liberia. (In: Annual Report, Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, 1963/1964, p.5.). The names of both concessionaires have disappeared from the Liberian files and archives without leaving a trace.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 7

Unless otherwise stated, memoranda, letters, reports etc. consulted with respect to Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are located at the Ministry of Finance, predominantly at the Concessions Secretariat of that Ministry. Once more I want to express my gratitude to those Government officials who kindly granted me access to these sources of information and allowed me to use the office facilities.

1. Schulze: 1965, pp. 443-455. Also: Anderson: 1952, p. 180 and Johnston: 1906, p. 65.
2. Interview with G.L. Biokhuis, a retired staff member of Muller & Co., held on August 14, 1979, The Hague, The Netherlands. Also see: Bevervoorde: 1946, pp. 122-162.
3. Azikiwe: 1934, pp. 343-347.
4. Buell: 1947, pp. 47 and 59.
5. Plotzki: 1970, pp. 201-240.
6. Anderson: 1952, p. 181. Also see "The Liberia Mining Company: Twenty years of growth and development", p. 3 (Produced by Mass Communications (Liberia) Inc., Monrovia - L.M.C. Publication.)
7. Buell: 1947, p. 48.
8. Anderson: 1952, p. 181.
9. Howat: 1973, p. 1439.
10. See Article 7 of the Agreement between the United States and Liberia for the construction of a port and port works, signed at Monrovia, December 31, 1943. In: Buell: 1947, p. 99. As early as 1908 the Liberian Government had offered the U.S.A. a "naval coaling station" on the Liberian coast. In: Buell: 1947, p. 6. Also see the motivation of the U.S. Department of State's support of Firestone's plans in the early 1920's: Chapter 3.
11. Buell: 1947, p. 5.
12. Buell: 1947, p. 6.
13. Wilkins: 1974, p. 306.
14. "Lamco Joint Venture Nimba Mining Project", report of Sanderson & Porter, New York, October 19, 1959, Appendix III, p. 28. To be called henceforth: Sanderson & Porter, 1959".
15. Sanderson & Porter: 1959, Appendix III, p. 39.
16. Wilkins: 1974, pp. 304-306.
17. Wilkins: 1974, p. 304 and 306.
18. Sanderson & Porter: 1959, Appendix III, p. 36.
19. Sanderson & Porter: 1959, Appendix III, pp. 20-28.
20. Coale: 1977, pp. 67-70. Also: Sanderson & Porter: 1959, Appendix III, pp. 15-20.
21. This Agreement as well as an Agreement between the United States and Liberia, signed at New York, June 8, 1943, and stating the Principles Applying to Mutual Aid for Defense, better indicates Liberia's actual foreign policy than the officially stated policy of neutrality. See: Buell: 1947, Appendices 2 and 3, pp. 90-96, for the full text of these Agreements.
22. The 1945 Mining Concession Agreement with the Liberia Mining Company, Article 12-f.

23. Interview with Albert Porte at his home in Crozierville, August 21, 1976. Also see: Wreh: 1976, p. 88 and pp. 113-114.
24. Interview with G.L. Blokhuis, The Hague, The Netherlands, August 14, 1979. Also see "The Marvels of Bomi Hills" and "The History of Bomi Hills", in: The Liberian Age, Vol. 4, No. 10, p. 3 and p. 11, respectively (May 31, 1949).
25. "The William V.S. Tubman Bridge opening under the auspices of the Department of Public Works and Utilities", in: The Liberian Age, Vol. 4, No. 21, p. 1 (November 15, 1949).
26. Interview with G.M. Kramer, a former Muller employee (see notes 69 and 113), The Hague, The Netherlands, October 19, 1979.
27. Anderson: 1952, pp. 183-184.
28. "Tribute on the Passing Away of Lansdell Christie, Friend of Liberia", in: Townsend: 1968, pp. 371-375.
29. President Tolbert on the Partnership-in-Development Concept, June, 1973, in: "Presidential Papers, August 1, 1972-July 31, 1974", pp. 329-353.
30. See Collateral Agreements dated March 12, 1952 and August 1, 1952.
31. Fortieth report of Whinney, Murray & Co., dated May 20, 1964, and presented to P.B. Jallah, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Income Tax Division, Treasury Department, Monrovia, p. 2.
32. Initially, one had agreed that L.M.C. would pay 25% corporate income taxes in the 1955-1959 period, followed by a ten year period in which 35% taxes would be paid. Thereafter, a tax liability of 50% would be applicable.
33. The Amendatory and Tax Agreement dated January 1, 1965.
34. Profits after taxes (\$140 million), plus Depletion Allowance (\$12 million), Contingencies (\$4 million), Sales Arrangements (\$10 million), Income from N.I.O.C. (\$0.7 million) and Miscellaneous (\$1 to 1.5 million). Also see Annex 11. In accordance with what has been reported by other writers on the subject (see Carlsson: 1980, pp. 261-262) and in accordance with the information provided by the Concession Secretariat, a Depreciation Allowance has been included although neither the original Concession Agreement nor the related agreements included the granting of this right.
35. "Liberia Mining Company Ltd. - Special Report on Sales Proceeds and Costs for the years ended December 31, 1951 through 1968", New York, March 9, 1970, made by Main Lafrentz & Co., Certified Public Accountants, New York, and presented to J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury of the Republic of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia, p. 5. To be called henceforth: "Main Lafrentz Report on Sales: 1970". In: L.M.C. Files/(Un-organised)CS/MF/M.
36. Main Lafrentz Report on Sales: 1970, p. 15.
37. Letter addressed to Christie, President of L.M.C., dated February 7, 1956, by Patton, Assistant President of the Republic Steel Corporation, and acknowledged by Christie on February 9, 1956. In: Main Lafrentz Report on Sales: 1970, p. 6.
38. Main Lafrentz Report on Sales: 1970, p. 9.
39. Main Lafrentz Report on Sales: 1970, p. 9 and p. 19.

40. Armstrong: 1962; p. 98. Also see: Clower: 1966; p. 200.
41. At times this agreement is referred to as "The 1952 Collateral Agreement", in other instances it is called "The 1953 Collateral Agreement". Originally signed in 1952 the Agreement was approved in 1953. So as to end the confusion around this document the Agreement will henceforth be referred to as "The Collateral Agreement".
42. Clause 4 of the Collateral Agreement. The financing of investments with loans rather than with equity capital can be considered common practice and is definitely not limited to L.M.C. or Liberia. Many countries accept this and allow for the resulting tax deductibility. However, L.M.C. had been allowed to deduct both (i) the debt-amortization of loans with which assets were financed and (ii) the depreciation of these assets. This would result in double-counting which cannot be considered a generally accepted accounting practice.
43. Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary to the Treasury, to L.M.C. Ltd., dated December 13, 1971 (TR/LMC/527-12/71). In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
44. Letter from Frank M. Hoeller, Assistant Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., to Whinney, Murray & Co., dated July 22, 1963. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
45. Letter from Frank M. Hoeller, Assistant Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., to Whinney, Murray & Co., dated July 22, 1963. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M. Also "Liberia Mining Company Ltd. - Report on Special Investigation for the Years Ended December 31, 1959 Through 1968", New York, August 28, 1970, made by Main Lafrentz & Co., Certified Public Accountants, New York and presented to J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury of the Republic of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia. To be referred to henceforth as "Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970". In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
46. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970; pp.3-7.
47. When the auditing of foreign firms was started at the beginning of the 1960's, the Government had engaged the services of the firm of Whinney, Murray & Co. However, after the British company had audited L.M.C.'s books in 1962/1963 it was hired by the mining company. This explains why the Liberian Government contacted and subsequently secured the services of the U.S. firm of Main Lafrentz & Co.
48. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970; p. 10.
49. Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury, to L.M.C. Ltd., dated December 13, 1971 (TR/LMC/527-12/71), pp. 2-4. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
50. Immovable assets, transportation and communication facilities, were to revert to the Liberian Government; The 1945 Mining Concession Agreement with the Liberia Mining Company, Article 14.
51. Settlement Agreement between the Liberia Mining Company, Ltd., and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, dated August 8, 1973, pp. 2-3.
52. An Act of the Legislature approving the Statement of Understanding dated August 12, 1957 between the Government of

- Liberia and the Liberia Mining Company, Ltd., dated December 13, 1957.
53. Memorandum of Agreement, dated January 3, 1963, following discussions between representatives of National Iron Ore Company Ltd., Mine Management Associates, Ltd., and Wm.H.Muller & Co. Ltd.
 54. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970; pp. 15-19.
 55. Letter from R.E. Waldo, Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., to Stephen Tolbert, Secretary of the Treasury, dated February 3, 1973, pp. 8-11. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 56. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970; pp. 15-19; Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury, to L.M.C. Ltd., dated December 13, 1971 (TR/LMC/527-12/71), pp. 4-5; Letter from R.E. Waldo, Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., to Stephen Tolbert, Secretary of the Treasury, dated February 3, 1972, pp. 8-11; Letter from Stephen Tolbert, Secretary of the Treasury, to R.E. Waldo, Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., dated February 18, 1972, pp. 2-3.
 57. See Memorandum "LMC Audit Report", from Alray Sumpter to Deputy Minister of Finance Edwin Williams, dated November 26, 1973, pp. 11-12. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 58. Memorandum "LMC Audit Report", from Alray Sumpter to Deputy Minister of Finance Edwin Williams, dated November 26, 1973, pp. 11-12. Also: Letter from Alray Sumpter to Moses W. Harrington, Acting Commissioner for Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Ministry of Finance, dated March 26, 1974, p. 6. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 59. Memorandum from E.G. Bartolomeus (Whinney, Murray & Co.) to M.J. Harding, Esq. (Whinney, Murray & Co.), dated August 16, 1963. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 60. Report on the Final Audit of L.M.C. covering the period 1974 through March 31, 1977, pp. 17-20, included in Letter from Alray Sumpter, Chief Auditor, to the Acting Minister of Finance Gerald Padmore, dated June 7, 1977. Also: Letter from L.M.C. to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated April 30, 1974. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 61. Report on the Final Audit of L.M.C. covering the period 1974 through March 31, 1977, p. 17, included in Letter from Sumpter to Padmore, dated June 7, 1977. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 62. Report on the Final Audit of L.M.C. covering the period 1974 through March 31, 1977, pp. 17-19, included in Letter from Sumpter to Padmore, dated June 7, 1977. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 63. Letter from Frank M. Hoelle, Assistant Treasurer L.M.C. Ltd., to Whinney, Murray & Co., dated July 22, 1963. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 64. Financial Statement L.M.C., 1951-1977, submitted to the Concessions Secretariat. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 65. Financial Statement L.M.C., 1951-1977, submitted to the Concessions Secretariat. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
 66. After an agreement "in principle" had been reached on March 18, 1957.

67. Sometimes spelled as "Bie Mountains". In Liberia spelling of names of rivers, towns, hills etc. may vary. The Government never made a serious attempt to correct this situation since it had no interest in or knowledge of the local tribal languages.
68. An Act of the Legislature approving the Statement of Understanding dated August 12, 1957 between the Government of Liberia and the Liberia Mining Company Ltd., dated December 13, 1957.
69. G.M. Kramer, during an interview held on October 29, 1979 in The Hague, The Netherlands, presented interesting background information as to why L.M.C. finally took only a 15% interest in the new mining venture. According to Kramer, the collaboration between Christie and Republic Steel in the Liberia Mining Company had not always been harmonious. Christie would have been indignant because of Republic Steel's lack of consideration for his interests. He thus manipulated a final structure of the N.I.O.C. in which 35% of the shares were held by the Liberian Enterprises, Ltd., a company which Christie created for this purpose. Thus, only 15% was held by the Liberia Mining Company, the latter of which was majority owned by the Republic Steel Corporation. See also note 113.
70. Memorandum of Agreement relative to the Bie Mountains between the Government of Liberia, Liberia Mining Company, Ltd., and National Iron Ore Company Ltd., dated September 4, 1973, Section 6.
71. In accordance with a letter of understanding between the Ministry of Finance and L.M.C. Ltd., dated July 26, 1973. (Source: Liberia Mining Company Ltd., Information Statement for the Year 1976, Confidential Paper, Paragraph 23. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. The date of the letter of understanding stated seems somewhat dubious since July 26 is Liberia's National Holiday No. 1.
72. See the section on the N.I.O.C.
73. Letter from J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, to George Padmore, President of N.I.O.C. dated February 23, 1976. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
74. Letter from J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, to the President, Executive Mansion (MF/2-2/479/'77), dated December 19, 1977. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
75. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970, p. 14.
76. Letter from Frank M. Hoelle, Assistant Treasurer, L.M.C. Ltd., to Whinney, Murray & Co., dated July 22, 1963. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
77. Fortieth Report of Whinney, Murray & Co., presented to A.B. Jallah, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Republic of Liberia dated May 20, 1964, p. 3. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
78. Notes on L.M.C. Concession Agreement and on the Audited L.M.C. Accounts up to 1963 (Treasury Department), dated April 1967, p. 4. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
79. Main Lafrentz Report on Special Investigation: 1970, p. 14.
80. Memorandum "L.M.C.-Government, Interest in Assets" from Herb Alpert to the Minister of Finance, dated April 25, 1972. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

81. Letter from J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance to the President, Executive Mansion (MF/2-2/479/'77), dated December 19, 1977. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
82. Memorandum of Observations for the Record, p. 2 (Office of the Minister, Ministry of Finance). In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
83. These comments on L.M.C.'s depreciation practices were expressed by a L.M.C. staff member who had been working for the company for more than 25 years.
84. The 1945 Mining Concession Agreement with the Liberia Mining Company, Article 14.
85. An Act of the Legislature approving the Agreement between the Liberia Mining Company and the Government of Liberia, dated May 25, 1978.
86. Source: A ministerial committee, Ministry of Finance. This committee estimated the value of L.M.C.'s assets after the termination of the mining operations at \$ 27,875,847. and estimated the value of the assets which it thought it would revert to the Government at \$ 17,557,537. (In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.). As of December 31, 1977 no final agreement had been reached in this respect.
87. See notably Clauses 1 and 2(iii) of the 1965 Amendatory and Tax Agreement.
88. Fortieth Report of Whinney, Murray & Co., presented to A.B. Jallah, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Republic of Liberia, dated May 20, 1964, p. 4. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
89. Fortieth Report of Whinney, Murray & Co., presented to A.B. Jallah, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenues, Republic of Liberia, dated May 20, 1964, p. 4. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
90. Coale: 1977, pp. 73-74.
91. This view is also expressed by Wreh: 1976, p. 114.
92. Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury, to Whinney, Murray & Co., dated August 1, 1969, describing the "General Terms of Reference for Audits of Accounts of Major Concessionaires", pp. 1-3. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
93. Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury, to L.M.C. Ltd., dated December 13, 1971. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
94. Appendix to a Report to the Board of Directors of National Iron Ore Company by the Committee appointed to review the relationships between National Iron Ore Company and Mine Management Associates, Limited, Minutes of the Third Day's Session, May 17, 1972, p. 5 (to be referred to henceforth as "Minutes of the Third Day's Session: 1972"). In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
95. Minutes of the Third Day's Session: 1970, pp. 5-10.
96. An Act to Approve the Statement of Understanding of August 12, 1957 between the Government of Liberia and the Liberia Mining Company, Ltd., dated December 13, 1957. And: An Act Approving the Concession Agreement of March 13, 1958 between the Government of Liberia and the National Iron Ore Company, Ltd. dated March 20, 1958, notably Articles 7 and 12(g).

97. Report on N.I.O.C. by "Exploration und Bergbau GmbH", Vol. 1, pp. 2-5 (1976). In: N.I.O.C. Files/(unorganised)CS/MF/M.
98. The 1958 Concession Agreement with the National Iron Ore Company Ltd., Article 12(f).
99. Audits of Accounts of Major Concessionaires 1973/1975: National Iron Ore Company, Ltd., by Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst, presented to J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, dated May 6, 1977, pp. 4-6 (to be referred to henceforth as "Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977"). The firm of Ernst & Ernst were L.M.C.'s independent auditors. It is not known to the present author whether the relationship between the auditing firm and the mining company continued after the merger with Whinney, Murray & Co. (also see note 47). In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
100. The 1958 Concession Agreement with N.I.O.C. Ltd., Articles 1 and 6.
101. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, p. 2 and pp. 13-15.
102. Letter from George Padmore, President of N.I.O.C. Ltd., to J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, dated April 28, 1977. In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
103. N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
104. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, p. 29.
105. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, e.g. pp. 5, 27, 38-42.
106. Minutes of the Third Day's Session: 1972, p. 32.
107. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, p. 32.
108. Author's research based on Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, pp. 30-33 and on N.I.O.C.'s Financial Statements 1977 and 1978 (rounded figures). In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
109. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, pp. 30-33.
110. Minutes of the Third Day's Session: 1972, pp. 10-13.
111. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, pp. 8-9 and 33-34.
112. Notes to the Financial Statements for the Years 1977 and 1978. In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
113. Interview with G.M. Kramer, a former Muller employee and later a member of CAEMI's staff personnel, October 29, 1979, The Hague, The Netherlands.
114. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, pp. 34-37.
115. Interview with G.M. Kramer, CAEMI B.V., The Hague, The Netherlands, October 29, 1979.
116. Clower: 1966, pp. 205-209.
117. Report on N.I.O.C. by "Exploration und Bergbau GmbH, Vol. 1, pp. 2-7 (1976). In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
118. Minutes of the Third Day's Session: 1972, p. 5. This loan still had not been paid back as of December 31, 1977.
119. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, pp. 44-48.
120. Memorandum "Current Status of Operations at Mano River" from the Concessions Secretariat to the Minister of Finance, dated June 18, 1975. In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
121. Whinney, Murray, Ernst & Ernst: 1977, p. 44.
122. Letter from George Padmore, President of N.I.O.C. Ltd., to J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, dated November 6, 1976. In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
123. N.I.O.C.'s Financial Statements for the Years 1977 and 1978. In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

124. Interview with G.M. Kramer, CAEMI B.V., The Hague, The Netherlands, October 29, 1979.
125. N.I.O.C.'s Financial Statements for the Years 1977 and 1978.
In: N.I.O.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 8

1. Richardson: 1959, p. 257. In 1953, P.B. Thayer, a member of a U.S. Mission charged with making a Geological Survey of Liberia, wrote the first comprehensive report on the itabiritic iron ore deposit of the Putu Range. These deposits were later estimated at some 380 million tons.
2. An Act Approving the Concession Agreement of September 9, 1953 between the Government of Liberia and the U.A.A.C., dated November 18, 1953.
3. The implicit acknowledgement of the existence of such a negative image follows directly from the frequently expressed desire of the Government of Liberia to introduce modifications of the concession agreement, notably of its financial and fiscal clauses. This resulted in various changes and culminated in the 1974 revision of the 1960 Concession Agreement which had replaced the Concession Agreement of September 9, 1953. As will be shown later, the changes introduced in 1974 failed to satisfy all Liberian government officials. On various occasions, officials within the Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, explicitly stated to me that the Government had been kept aside during the preparatory negotiations preceding the final concession agreement with LAMCO in 1960. Thus the Government was confronted with a "fait accompli" after the agreement had been signed. Their opinion was certainly not based on facts, to say the least. The following account of the realisation of the LAMCO J.V. is meant to contribute to a better understanding of the responsibilities of those involved.
4. "Patrice Lumumba": 1973, p. 142.
5. "Services in connection with the LAMCO Project", report of the Stockholms Enskilda Bank, dated April 12, 1961, pp. 1-2. To be referred to henceforth as "Services in connection with the LAMCO Project: 1961". In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
6. It is not known whether Detwiler was at this time still personally involved or if he had withdrawn after the conclusion of the concession agreement.
7. Prospectus Liberian Iron Ore Limited of March 3, 1966, p. 6. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
8. Although it had been reported before that the Nimba Mountains contained substantial iron ore reserves, there had never been a serious investigation, a fact to which the remoteness and inaccessibility of the area would have contributed. After Sandy Clarke had made his discoveries at the summit of the mountain, "*enormous blocks of high-grade ore which assayed in the high 60%*" (Gardlund: 1968, p. 8), on December 23, 1955, it took him 8 days to return to Monrovia from where the news could be communicated to Stockholm. (Today it takes less than 6 hours to travel by car from Yekepa, Liberia's second largest city, to the capital.) In those days the country's only road did not reach beyond Sanniquellie, some 30 miles from the Nimba Mountains (also see Chapter 12). The forest area of the Nimba Mountains in those days belonged exclusively to the tribal population and had only "foot trails" and "monkey bridges" as means of penetration. This area included a "devil's bush" of the secret

- societies as well as a supposed place of residence of "small men", or Jinna as they are called in Liberia. For more details concerning Clarke's discovery and the characteristics of the Nimba Mountains area see: Garland: 1968, pp. 7-10.
9. "The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project", Statement of Services by Sullivan & Cromwell, January 1, 1958 to date; dated April 15, 1961, p. 8. To be referred henceforth as "The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project: 1961". In LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 10. Gardlund reports redemption payments which Grangesberg received amounting to approximately \$ 150,000,000. during the five years 1957 through 1961. Gardlund: 1968, p. 4.
 11. The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project: 1961, pp.6 & 11.
 12. The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project: 1961, p. 17.
 13. The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project: 1961, p. 20.
 14. Services in connection with the LAMCO Project: 1961, pp. 3-7. Also: "Comments on Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 15. Letter from R.E. McMath, Vice President of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, to Erland Waldenstrom, Grangesbergbolaget, dated October 9, 1958, p. 3. In: Letter of April 14, 1959 of the Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company, Accepted by Bethlehem Steel Corporation on April 17, 1959 With Annexes (Exhibit 1). In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 16. Prospectus Liberian Iron Ore Limited of March 3, 1966, p. 35. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
 17. See e.g. Clower: 1966; Gardlund: 1968; Tarpeh: 1978; and Carlsson: 1980. Of these authors Tarpeh deals the most extensively with the LAMCO Joint Venture. His voluminous dissertation (641 pp.) presents a wealth of information mainly in the fields of Government-Investors relations, Liberianization Policy, the Economic Impact and Social Consequences of the Investments, and it contains a critical assessment of the administration of the country's natural resources with respect to the Nimba ore deposits.
 18. In July 1977 I found an original copy of the 1960 Mining Concession Agreement with LAMCO lying in the rain on one of the balconies of the building of the Ministry of Finance in Monrovia after the Ministry's Library had been transferred to another room in the same building on Broad Street. Marketwomen, children and other passers-by took away what they considered suitable for their purposes from the pile of wet documents and files (wrapping paper, illustrated booklets etc.).
 19. The Mining Concession Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company and Bethlehem Steel Corporation, dated as of April 28, 1960, Sections 8 and 9. To be referred to henceforth as "The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement".
 20. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement, Section 11.
 21. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement, Sections 16 and 19.
 22. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement, Section 6.
 23. Article V, Section 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia.
 24. The 1964 Concession Agreement between the Government of Liberia and the Kitoma Mining and Trading Company, Articles 1, 5 and 6.

25. The Liberian Code of Laws Title 24: 144, Volume III, p. 898. Quoted from "Opinion of the Attorney General, Hon. James A.A. Pierre, in: The Dispute Between LAMCO and Doctor Togba over Rights In and To the Kitoma Range", p. 21. To be referred to henceforth as "Opinion of the Attorney General: 1965". In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
26. Opinion of the Attorney General: 1965, pp. 8-13.
27. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement, Section 4.
28. Letter from Counsellor Richard A. Henriès to President Tubman, dated October 11, 1961. In: Opinion of the Attorney General: 1965, pp. 4-5.
29. Letter From the Special Assistant to the President to A. Momolu Massaquoi, Director of the Bureau of Natural Resources and Surveys, dated February 27, 1964. In: Opinion of the Attorney General: 1965, p. 13.
30. Opinion of the Attorney General: 1965, p. 27.
31. Article 1, Section 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia.
32. Article 5, Sections 12 and 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia.
33. Document, Executive Mansion, Monrovia, dated August 11, 1965 (no title). In: Files Kitoma Mining and Trading Company/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
34. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 147.
35. See Tarpeh: 1978, p. 197 for a detailed list of the Bank's activities in respect of LAMCO.
36. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 178.
37. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 186.
38. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 195.
39. Sources for this section were: "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO" (no date), p. 4; "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976, pp. 14 and 16; Memorandum enclosed with letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 5; and Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 177-186 and 202. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
40. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement, Section 9.
41. Sources for the following two sections were: Memorandum enclosed with letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, pp. 9-11; "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976, p. 16; and Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 180, 196, 206, 382-387. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
42. From 1975 until August 31, 1977 Betr. Cockeril bought from LAMCO a quantity of 2.3 million tons of ore with a total value of \$ 40.5 million. In: Tarpeh: 1978, p. 385.
43. Sources for this section were: "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO" (no date), p. 3; "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976, pp. 12-13; and Tarpeh: 1978, p. 198.
44. Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 188-189.
45. The 1960 LAMCO Joint Venture Agreement, Article II(g).
46. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 173.
47. See Annex 15.
48. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 176.

49. "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976, pp. 4-5. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised) CS/MF/F.
50. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 4. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
51. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 5. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
52. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 12. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
53. Memorandum enclosed with letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 6. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. Also: Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 198-200.
54. Sources for this section were: Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 8; "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO (no date), p. 4. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised) CS/MF/M; and Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 205 and 507-510.
55. This became reality at the end of the 1970's. Iron ore shipments of the LAMCO J.V. in the period July 1, 1978 - June 30, 1979 were reported to have been 10.7 million long tons, with an overall value of \$ 148.1 million, but at the same time LAMCO J.V. forecast a loss of \$ 22 million (\$ 28 million when excluding Libeth) over 1979. Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1978/1979, pp. 50 and 52.
56. "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976, pp. 16-17. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
57. In 1979 Cyril Bright re-appeared in the Cabinet, this time as Minister of Agriculture.
58. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 11. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. Also: Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 200-207.
59. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 2. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
60. "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO" (undated). In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
61. Initial Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated May 10, 1976, Appendix to "Comments on "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", dated June 21, 1976. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
62. Private talks with Government officials in the Ministry of Finance as well as with other Liberian citizens. Known to be in favour of a stronger participation of the Government in the exploitation of the country's natural resources, notably its iron ore deposits, are Clifford Flemister (former G.S.A. Director and former LIISO Manager), and Togba Nah Tipoteh (former Associate Professor University of Liberia; Director General of Susuku).
63. See Annex 16.
64. Tarpeh: 1978; pp. 170-172.

65. Tarpeh: 1978; pp. 170-172.
66. Tarpeh: 1978; pp. 520-521.
67. Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, pp. 6-7. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
68. This may be concluded from the comments of Herb Alpert from the U.S. firm Baxter & Holland, the Advisor to the Liberian Government in financial and fiscal affairs. This company played a significant role during the Review. See Memorandum enclosed with Letter from Herb Alpert to Stephen Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated February 13, 1974, p. 6. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
69. Tarpeh: 1978, p. 207.
70. In 1973 Lewis W. Foy was invited to Liberia by President Tolbert and awarded an honorary doctorate of law degree from the University of Liberia where he served as Commencement Speaker. Critics pointed to Foy's compromising relations as President of Bethlehem Steel Corporation with the Government of the Republic of South Africa and with the Portugese colonial authorities in Mozambique. Republic Steel, they publicized, had considerable investments in the Republic of South Africa and held exploration rights for certain minerals in Mozambique and in Namibia. In: The Revelation, Vol.II, No. 1, March/April 1974, pp. 58-60, "University of Liberia honors Apartheid Man", by Majok M. Malek.
71. "From the citation explaining the selection of Dr. Tolbert for the 1974 Award", in: Presidential Papers, 1974-1975, p. 19.
72. See Annex 16.
73. This was pointed out in a Government of Liberia document, "Major Points for Consultation with LAMCO", undated. Table 4. However, this official statement may be questionable. Information from other governmental sources are contradictory. It suggests that in 1975 the potential revenues lost as a result of duty free privileges granted amounted to \$ 3.9 million with respect to all of the country's imports of "Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials" (see Annex 22).
74. Tarpeh: 1978: p. 511.
75. Memorandum "Lamco depreciation and amortization" from Whinney, Murray and Co. to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 30, 1970, pp. 1-13. In: LAMCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
76. The amount was calculated as follows: Total depletion allowance (1963-1977) amounts to \$ 28.8 million whereas interest payments in the same period total \$ 39.0 million (see Annex 16). Both items together are valued at \$ 67.8 million. The Government's share of 50%, which represents the loss of potential revenues, therefore is 50% of \$ 67.8 million, i.e. \$ 33.9 million.
77. Plotzki: 1970; p. 210. Plotzki was the chief German negotiator with the Liberian Government and was later appointed President of DELIMCO.
78. "Interim Report on the Geology of the Putu Iron Ore Deposit

- in Liberia", p. 2; Gewerkschaft Exploration, November 1972. In: BMC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
79. The Lamco Joint Venture - Nimba Mining Project: 1961; pp. 9-11.
80. Plotzki: 1970; p. 206.
81. See e.g. Liebenow: 1969; pp. 148-171; and Plotzki: 1970; p. 208.
82. James A.A. Pierre promulgated a general feeling when in 1970 he stated that "(...) *to practice law in Liberia, one must be a citizen of the country (...) We cannot and do not expect that foreigners in our midst should protect the Constitution and uphold the laws of Liberia for us*". To make his point clearer he said unequivocally "(...) *Protection of the Constitution implies citizenship. (...)*". Source: Attorney General Pierre's Response to the Chief Justice's Opening Address, March Term A.D. 1970, pp. 2-3. Thus, despite the country's economic Open Door Policy foreigners found the door shut with respect to owning real estate, providing transportation services, and the practising of law. Naturalization would end this exclusion, but only black aliens were offered this opportunity. A second remark which must be made introduces a contradictory element as in so many a discussion concerning Liberian Policy. Whereas white aliens were excluded from citizenship and thus were not eligible for practising law in Africa's oldest Republic, a considerable number of concession agreements concluded with foreign investors included arbitration clauses which even put the interpretation of Liberian Laws in the hand of white foreigners. To cite just one example, one of the oldest of such an agreement: the 1926 Planting Agreement with Firestone which gave the U.S. Secretary of State a final saying in any dispute submitted for arbitration. This clause was still valid in 1970 when James A.A. Pierre made his statement quoted above.
83. Clower reports that even in 1962 this was still uncertain. Clower: 1966; p. 225.
84. Coale: 1977; p. 88.
85. The 1958 Concession Agreement with the Gewerkschaft Exploration, Article 12.
86. Coale: 1977; p. 135.
87. Coale: 1977; p. 86.
88. President William Tubman at the formal opening of the Bong Mining Company, November 12, 1965. In: Townsend: 1968; p. 370.
89. "Accounts for the year ended December 31, 1968 and relative auditor's report", pp. 2-3; Bong Mining Company, Inc. In: BMC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
90. Coale: 1977; p. 37.
91. "Audits of Accounts of Major Concessionaires 1973/1976: Bong Mining Company, Incorporated", Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst, presented to J.T. Phillips, Jr., Minister of Finance, dated January 3, 1978, pp. 38 and 52. To be referred to henceforth as "Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978). In: BMC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
92. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; pp. 5-6 and 42-45.
93. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 52.

94. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 53.
95. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 39.
96. Coale: 1977; pp. 115-118.
97. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; pp. 40-42.
98. Coale: 1977; pp. 100-124 and 154.
99. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; pp. 26 - 28..
100. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; pp. 12-17.
101. The Supplemental Agreement of December 16, 1974, Article 12 (d).
102. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 141.
103. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Minister of Finance, dated October 19, 1977. In: BMC Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
104. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 2.
105. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 1.
106. This estimate was made by the management of B.M.C. In: Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; p. 10.
107. The Supplemental Agreement of December 16, 1974, Article 9.
108. Whinney Murray Ernst & Ernst: 1978; pp. 17-18 and 55.
109. "West Africa" (weekly magazine) 1959, no. 2196, p. 460: Matchet's Diary.
110. Information received from the Company's Public Relations Department during a visit which I made to the mining site on January 14, 1976. One wonders why the 1974 Supplemental Agreement to the Mining Concession Agreement of 1960 did not change this situation. The only obligation included in 1974 in this respect provides only for an obligation to protect the water, land and atmosphere from pollution, contamination or damage. This is even more incomprehensible since the Agreement with Detwiler committed the concessionaire in 1967 to avoid waste of the exploited materials. Since such an obligation would be contrary to the interests of the operators of the mine in the Nimba Mountains this may explain its absence in the 1974 Supplemental Agreement.
111. Coale: 1977; p. 2.
112. Early iron ore smelting in Liberia may even go back as far as the sixteenth century. Schulze: 1973 London; pp. 153-154. He has pointed out elsewhere that iron smelting was also an achievement of the Northern Kpelle, in the triangle between Totota - Salayea - Palala, as well as of the Krahn living in the Putu Range, in the southeastern part of Liberia. Schulze: 1970 - 1971; pp. 113-127.
113. Sherman: 1948, p. 46.
114. First Feasibility Report on Iron Mining in the Wologisi Ranges, Liberia. Presented to the Liberia Iron & Steel Corporation by MacKay & Schnellman Ltd. (London), September 1968. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
115. Letter from J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of Planning and Economic Affairs, to President Tubman, dated August 5, 1966, p. 2. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.
116. "Aide Memoire on discussions leading to a Concession Agreement for the Wologisi Mountain Range in Loffa County, Strictly Confidential", undated, p. 2. To be referred to henceforth as "Confidential Aide Memoire: Undated". In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)/CS/MF/M.

117. See e.g. Confidential Aide Memoire: Undated; p. 1, referring to *"an arrogant and insulting letter from the President of LISCO dated August 3, 1966"*, as well as Weeks' characterization of Detwiler's attitude: *"Mr. Detwiler, in the unfortunate manner so common to his recent expressions (...)"* in: Report of the Committee to study and make Recommendations on Correspondence in connection with Exploration and Exploitation of the Wologisi Mountain Range", p. 2, dated January 9, 1967. Published by the Department of Planning and Economic Affairs. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
118. Confidential Aide Memoire: Undated, pp. 7 and 10.
119. Confidential Aide Memoire: Undated, pp. 11-16.
120. Report on discussions held in Zürich, Switzerland, August 22-29, 1966 on investment projects and proposals for Liberia: Concession for Exploration and Exploitation of iron ore deposits in the Wologissie Mountain, Lofa County, by J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of Planning and Economic Affairs, dated August 31, 1966, p. 6.
121. Report on discussions held in Zürich, Switzerland, August 22-29, 1966, p. 6.
122. The Government of Liberia's Review of the Proposed Draft of a Concession Agreement between the Government of Liberia and the Liberian Iron and Steel Corporation (LISCO) as submitted by LISCO, pp. 1-3 (undated; presumably originating from the Department of Planning and Economic Affairs). In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
123. Memorandum of conversations in respect of a concession agreement for the Wologissie Mountain, Lofa County, held at the Dolder Grand Hotel in Zürich, Switzerland, August 25, 1966, by J. Milton Weeks, Secretary of Planning and Economic Affairs, p. 4. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
124. An Act Approving the Concession Agreement made between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Liberia Iron and Steel Corporation, September 1967.
125. The 1967 Concession Agreement with LISCO, Article 8.
126. The 1967 Concession Agreement with LISCO, Article 7(A).
127. The 1967 Concession Agreement with LISCO, Article 11.
128. The 1945 Concession Agreement with the Liberia Mining Company Ltd., Article 11.
129. The 1958 Concession Agreement with N.I.O.C., Article 11.
130. "The Wologisi Project", p. 7. Paper prepared for the Liberian Economic Delegation to Rumania by Dr. A.E. Nyema Jones, Deputy Minister of Lands and Mines, September 19, 1972. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
131. In 1978 Supplemental Agreement No. 2 to the 1975 Concession Agreement was signed whereby the penalty clauses for not getting into production by a certain date were abolished. At the end of 1978 this Supplemental Agreement had not been approved by either the President of the Republic of Liberia or the National Legislature.
132. Manager's Tax Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Amax Liberia Corporation, dated December 24, 1974.

133. Sales Agent's Tax Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Liberia, the "Japanese Group" and Amax, Inc., dated December 24, 1974. On May 31, 1978 the Japanese Group and LISCO signed a Sales Agreement.
134. On May 31, 1978 the Japanese Group and LISCO signed a New Stock Agreement, based upon the Memorandum of Understanding of March 17, 1978 between LISCO and the Japanese Group.
135. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Chairman of the Concession and Investment Commission, dated March 3, 1977. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
136. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, covering the period July 1, 1976 - December 31, 1977, p. 10.
137. "The Wologisi Project", p. 5. Paper prepared for the Liberian Economic Delegation to Rumania by Dr. A.E. Nyema Jones, Deputy Minister of Lands and Mines, September 19, 1972. In: LISCO Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
138. The 1960 Mining Concession Agreement with LAMCO, Section 4.
139. Jeune Afrique (Weekly Magazine), No. 893, February 15, 1978, pp. 42-44: "Maurétanie: Par le fer et par le feu".
140. Former G.S.A. Director and former LISCO Manager Clifford Flemister as a guest speaker at the University of Liberia, Monrovia, November 1977.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 9

1. Armstrong: 1962, pp. 206-231.
2. Gnielinski: 1972, pp. 8, 16-19 and 28. Schulze: 1973 London, p. 25-29.
3. Communication from Voorhoeve to Schulze. In: Schulze: 1973 London, p. 214.
4. Schulze: 1973 Darmstadt, p. 34.
5. Schulze: 1973 Darmstadt, p. 31; and Johnston: 1906, pp. 570-573.
6. Anderson: 1952, pp. 230-232.
7. Hasselmann: 1979, p. 14, quoting Mayer (1951, p. 27). The more recent figure of 12.0 million acres is based on a calculation of Frank and Gurgla (Hasselmann: 1979, p. 14).
8. Holsoe, Torkel, "Third Report on Forestry Progress in Liberia, 1951-1959", International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D.C., undated.
9. Fobes, E.W., "Forestry and the Forest Products Industry in Liberia", Southern Lumberman, 1956; and Fobes and Kryn: 1959.
10. Voorhoeve, A.G., "Liberian High Forest Trees", Wageningen 1965.
11. The German Forestry Mission to Liberia published during 1967 and 1968 twelve technical reports, notably on its inventory of Liberia's National Forests.
12. An Act regulating the exploitation of timberlands and fixing a duty on lumber exported from the Republic of Liberia (1940), Section 4.
13. See Annex 8, II-B-7.
14. A Supplementary Act for the Conservation of the Forests of the Republic of Liberia, Part VII, Section 10(b); 1957.
15. Customs Tariff 1940, Revised in keeping with Acts of Legislature, approving amendments through sessions 1948-1963, Title III, Item No. 3.
16. A Proposed Five Year Program For the Economic Development of Liberia, pp. 5-6.
17. An Act for the Conservation of the Forests of the Republic of Liberia, Section V; 1953.
18. An Act for the Conservation of the Forests of the Republic of Liberia, Sections VI-VII; 1953.
19. An Act approving the Nine Year Program for the Economic Development of Liberia, Section entitled "Development of Forest Resources"; 1953.
20. A Supplementary Act for the Conservation of the Forests of the Republic of Liberia; 1957. To be referred to henceforth as "The 1957 Supplementary Act".
21. The 1957 Supplementary Act, Part III, Section 5.
22. The 1957 Supplementary Act, Part III, Sections 2 and 5.
23. The 1957 Supplementary Act, Part III, Section 6(k).
24. The 1957 Supplementary Act, Part VII, Section 1.
25. The 1957 Supplementary Act, Part VII, Section 10.
26. For more detailed information on Stephen A. Tolbert's career as a civil servant, his successful entrepreneurship and his social and family life, see The Liberia Official Gazette, Vol. L, April 29, 1975, No. 4, issued after his death on April 28, 1975.
27. Armstrong: 1962, p. 218.

28. Annual Report, Department of Agriculture, 1970-1971, pp. 17-19.
29. "Historical background and budgetary proposal for upgrading the Bureau of Forest Conservation 1969-1973", p. 14. Published by the Ministry of Agriculture, undated. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
30. "Justification of the Budget Forest Development Authority", p. 5. Source of publication unknown, undated. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
31. Annual Report, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1977, p. 43.
32. See Chapter 2.
33. Azikiwe: 1934, pp. 342-348.
34. The March 20, 1935 Supplementary Agreement to the 1926 Planting Agreement, Article II(g).
35. Clower: 1966, p. 129.
36. An Act to extend the concession agreement entered into between the Government of Liberia and the Industrial Trading Trust of the Principality of Leichenstein (misspelled in the original text) of Switzerland, dated each the 11 day of September 1953.
37. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1973, p. 58.
38. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1974, p. 75; Annual Report, Ministry of Agriculture, 1974, p. 42; and Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1974, p. 87.
39. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1975, p. 69.
40. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, July 1, 1976-December 31, 1977, p. 10.
41. The original document included an error (a difference of 200 acres when adding up the four figures). However, it can not be stated with certainty where the mistake occurred. Hence, it was decided to leave the original figures unchanged.
42. "Justification of the Budget Forest Development Authority", p. 1. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
43. Roberts: 1972, p. 278.
44. Roberts: 1972, p. 278.
45. Schulze: 1973 London, pp. 141-146.
46. "Justification of the Budget Forest Development Authority", p. 2. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
47. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1975, p. 70.
48. Annual Report, Ministry of Agriculture, 1974, pp. 44-45.
49. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1978-1979, p. 53.
50. "Justification of the Budget Forest Development Authority", p. 5. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
51. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1976, pp. 42-43.
52. The discrepancy between real exports and officially reported exports was also noted by Robert Kappel. According to him, the total of illegal exports may be very high (1980, p. 59).
53. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1968, p. 8.
54. Memorandum "1978 Surface Rentals - Forest Concessions" from the Concessions Secretariat to the Deputy Minister for Revenues, Ministry of Finance, dated January 12, 1978. In: Forestry Files (Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
55. "Historical background and budgetary proposal for upgrading the Bureau of Forest Conservation 1969-1973", pp. 6-8. Published by the Ministry of Agriculture, undated. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

56. "Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 5-A, Forestry Development Authority, Monrovia, dated August 29, 1977.
57. Kappel: 1980, p. 58.
58. Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 4, Ministry of Agriculture, dated December 30, 1975; and "Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 5-A, Forestry Development Authority, dated August 29, 1977.
59. Kappel: 1980, p. 154, note 158.
60. "Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 4, Ministry of Agriculture, dated December 30, 1975; and "Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 5-A, Forestry Development Authority, dated August 29, 1977.
61. "Revised Stumpage Fees", Bulletin No. 4, Ministry of Agriculture, dated December 30, 1975.
62. "Observation and Notes on development in the Ivory Coast with emphasis on the Forest Industry Sector", pp. 7-16. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
63. As a result of the large number of documents found in the Archives of the Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, and which have been studied, it is not feasible in this place to specify each document consulted. Altogether the files of 55 different logging companies were scrutinized and an uncounted number of Timber Concession Agreements, Addenda to Agreements, correspondence between Government agencies and officials and these companies, and miscellaneous reports were studied. The information thus collected was added to the knowledge gathered by discussions with expatriate businessmen engaged in the logging business in the country and by newspaper reports and articles.
Most concession agreements signed in and after 1973 were based on the Model Timber Concession Agreement which dates from that year (1973). A number of timber concession agreements concluded in and after 1973, however, show various differences with respect to this Model Agreement. Given the large number of companies and concession agreements involved, a detailed comparison of these various concession agreements has not been presented here.
64. This was not the only time that businessmen in the logging sector resorted to arms to settle a dispute. In 1975, the Manager of the Talk Lumber Company, Samuel Benedict Cooper, alleged that employees of Cestos Nimba Corporation illegally took their logs and threatened them with arms. The two companies had already clashed shortly before, when the operators of the Cestos Nimba Corporation, involving H.W. Badio and Alfred Sayeh, accused employees of Talk Lumber Company, owned by Samuel B. Cooper, a former Acting Secretary of State of Liberia, and by Edwin Williams, then Deputy Minister of Finance, to have broken through their concession boundary and to have extracted logs from their area. In: The Liberian Star, June 13, 1975, p. 3, "Supt. Toweh Warns 2 Logging Companies".
65. Letter from the Liberia Mining Company, Ltd. to the Chairman of the Concession and Investments Commission, the Honorable Stephen A. Tolbert, "Timber Operations in Liberia Mining Company, Ltd. Mining Area" (Letter No. VP-JLP-90), dated

- March 30, 1974, p. 2. In: L.M.C. Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
66. "Investigation into alleged corruption in the Bureau of Forestry, Ministry of Agriculture, involving top officials of that ministry.", Report from the Assistant Director, Special Services, Elijah J. Garnett, National Security Agency, Patrick M. Minikon (NSA/AD-SS/94/'74); dated April 23, 1974. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M. To be referred to henceforth as "NSA/AD/SS/94/'72".
67. NSA/AD/SS/94/'74, in: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
68. JLAO File/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
69. Memorandum from the Concessions Secretariat to the Chairman, and members of the Concession & Investment Commission, dated June 20, 1974, p. 3. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
70. Letter from the Minister of Justice, Clarence Simpson, to the Minister of Finance, Stephen A. Tolbert (Letter 1519/4-7). In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.
71. Confidential Letter from the Minister of Finance, Stephen A. Tolbert, to the Minister of Justice, Clarence Simpson, dated June 26, 1974, p. 2. In: Forestry Files/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 10

1. Both taxes had been introduced in the beginning of the present century. In 1910 the Barclay Administration attempted to alleviate the country's financial problems by imposing the Hut Tax. This was a per capita tax of one dollar per hut which the tribal population was required to pay (see Chapter 2). Five years later the Government had to face increased financial difficulties which resulted from the British blockade of Liberia, whereas existing sources of revenue had been pledged under the 1912 Loan (see Chapter 3). The Emergency Relief Fund Tax was imposed both on imports and on property. No distinction was usually made, however, in the reporting of revenues from this tax.
2. The Liberian Constitution charges the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the nation's archives and the filing and maintenance of all official records. In 1978 the Government created a "Central Archives and Record Agency" with budgetary allocations amounting to \$ 62,588. (Budget, FY 1977/78, pp. 655-657). Budgetary appropriations, however, allowed the hiring of only four trained civil servants apart from eight people to provide auxiliary services: maintenance personnel, truck operator, messenger, etc. In 1979 I visited the building in which the Agency was housed. The Agency then was still in an embryonic stage, virtually all shelves being empty and only two employees having received specialized training (abroad).
3. The lack of basic data which had hindered the smooth implementation of the Nine Year Development Plan (1951-1960) lay at the origin of the decision to conduct an economic survey of Liberia upon expiration of the Plan period. Subsequently, under the terms of a project agreement with the Liberian Government, the International Cooperation Administration (I.C.A.) at a cost of \$ 200,000. engaged the services of a team from Northwestern University, U.S.A. The team consisted of seven permanent staff members temporarily living in Liberia, four short term consultants, and four staff members in the U.S.A. (Northwestern University), and was headed by Robert W. Clower (see bibliography). The Economic Survey of Liberia was conducted from January 1961 through August 1962. Its results formed the basis of a "classic" work on the Liberian Economy: "Growth without Development (1966).
4. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1967-1970, p. 8.
5. E.g. the Presidents Benson and Payne who Liberian Legislative Committees proved to have embezzled and stolen several thousands of dollars of government money (Akpan: 1975, pp. 129-162). The loss of funds, obtained with the 1871 Loan, has been mentioned before (see Chapter 2 and Annex 1).
6. Annual Message, President Edwin Barclay, 1933, p. 24. On December 23, 1932, President Edwin Barclay approved the Moratorium Act which the Legislature had enacted on the preceding December 17.
7. Brunot, Ligthart, and Mackenzie respectively. Also see Chapter 3 (note 33).
8. League of Nations, "Request for assistance submitted by the Government of Liberia", C/Liberia 41 (1933), p. 39.

9. League of Nations, "Request for assistance submitted by the Government of Liberia", C/Liberia 41 (1933), p. 39.
10. Brown: 1941, pp. 184-185. Also based on N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
11. League of Nations, "Request for assistance submitted by the Government of Liberia", C/Liberia 41 (1933), p. 57. In 1932, the Supervisor of Internal Revenue complained that after he had reported to the Attorney-General the names of delinquent tax payers who owed for Real Estate Taxes, School Taxes, and Street and Light Taxes (due only in Montserrado County) the sum of \$ 25,914.85 for the years 1930 and 1931, with requests for prosecution, virtually no action was undertaken. Obviously, the names of important delinquents will have coincided with those of the political elite - which phenomenon explains the lack of action undertaken. In: "General Report From the Supervisor of Internal Revenue, R.L. To the Honorable The Financial Advisor, R.L.", p. 2 (dated August 25, 1932). In: NA/(Unorganised)MFA/M.
12. Buell: 1947, p. 42.
13. N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
14. Annual Message, President Edwin Barclay, 1938, p. 27.
15. Only in the 1965-1975 period the Liberian Treasury already lost an estimated \$ 6 million (see Chapter 3). It was assumed that the annual loss of potential revenue during the 1935-1965 period averaged half of the yearly loss during the ten year period 1965-1975.
16. Sherman: 1948, pp. 56-57.
17. Upon return from their studies abroad, they were appointed Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chairman of the Public Utilities Authority, respectively.
18. Richardson: 1959, p. 253; and Sherman: 1948, pp. 111-115. In 1920, the Legislature had already approved the transfer of the capital. See Chapter 2, notes 127 and 128.
19. Sherman: 1948, p. 116.
20. Richardson: 1959, p. 254.
21. Richardson: 1959, pp. 224-225.
22. Pinder, Frank E., "Terminal Report - Chief Agriculturalist, U.S. Operations Mission to Liberia 1944-1957" (undated), pp. 1-13.
23. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1959-1960, p. 110.
24. Keller, Joseph P., "The Liberian Maritime Program 1949-1978", p. 2. A Paper presented by Joseph P. Keller, Deputy Commissioner of Maritime Affairs of the Republic of Liberia, during a meeting of students at the University of Liberia, June 8, 1978, Monrovia.
25. Keller: 1978, p. 4.
26. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1959-1960, p. 1.
27. Sherman: 1948, p. 84.
28. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1959-1960, pp. 5-6.
29. An Act granting permission for the President of Liberia to leave the country and visit the United States of America, Republic of Haiti and the Lebanon upon invitations of the Presidents of these respective States (1954).

30. An Act granting a rest leave to His Excellency William V.S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia, from the Seat of Government (1952).
31. (i) A joint resolution granting rest leave to President William V.S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia, from the seat of government for the period of three calendar months (1956).
(ii) A joint resolution granting leave of absence from the seat of government to President William V.S. Tubman, of the Republic of Liberia for a period of three (3) calendar months (1958).
(iii) A joint resolution granting rest leave to President William V.S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia, from the seat of government for the period of three calendar months (1960).
These long absences would warrant considerable commentary since decentralisation or delegation of power hardly existed in Liberia. Hence, the governmental services virtually came to a standstill during these protracted periods unless highly placed government officials travelled back and forth between the seat of government and Tubman's holiday resort, at high cost. It should be born in mind that any expenditure of the Treasury involving an amount of more than \$ 25. needed the personal approval of President Tubman who, by the way, controlled and spent these public funds as his personal property.
32. The Constitution of Liberia, Article III, Section 8.
33. An Act to authorise and empower the President of Liberia to appoint liaison and relation officers in Counties, Provinces and Districts, where necessary (1950).
34. Clower: 1966, p. 3.
35. An Act to levy a Relief Tax on all citizens of the Republic of Liberia (1952).
36. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957-1958, pp. 3-4.
37. Sherman: 1948, pp. 37 and 42.
38. Armstrong: 1962, p. 65.
39. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957-1958, p. 13.
40. See e.g. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1957-1958, p. 8.
41. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1959-1960, p. 81.
42. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1959-1960, p. 10.
43. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1961-1962, pp. 1-8.
44. Annual Report, Treasury Department, 1963-1964, p. 15. The incorrect totals were found in the original document.
45. Qureshi: 1964, p. 309.
46. "Liberia - Development Problems and Needs" (document). Dated January 1965 (Limited Official Use), Declassified February 16, 1965. No author or responsible Government agency mentioned. The document was traced in the library of the Ministry of Finance (1977).
47. An Act approving the Nine Year Program for the Economic Development of the Republic of Liberia (1953).
48. An Act approving the Nine Year Program for the Economic Development of the Republic of Liberia (1953).
49. Clower: 1966, pp. 362-369.
50. Buell: 1947, p. 4.
51. Naidoo: 1964, pp. 241-245.

52. Naidoo: 1964, p. 241; and Clower: 1966, pp. 374-375.
53. Total Domestic Revenue in the 1975-1979 period was \$ 771.6 million or a yearly average of \$ 154.3 million. Domestic Revenue amounted to \$ 108.8 million, \$ 133.5 million, \$ 159.9 million, \$ 177 million and \$ 192.4 million in 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively (the 1979 figure is preliminary). Source: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 86. Note: these figures do not correspond with data presented earlier (see Table 38). This could illustrate the lack of consistency in statistical data available in Liberia at the end of the 1970's. For the purpose of the present study, the general tendency which this item represents is significant enough without 100 percent accuracy.
54. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 19.
55. The Mano River Union was created by the Governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone in October 1973 and aims at establishing a Customs Union between the two countries.
56. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 19.
57. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 20.
58. This applies to 1967, "the latest year for which reasonably complete figures are readily available" (Shoup: 1970, p. 75).
59. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 22.
60. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 20.
61. Shoup: 1970, pp. 92-93.
62. Interview with the Deputy Minister of Finance for Revenues, Philip Bowen, by Ms. Miatta Beysolow, Coordinator, Office of Fiscal Policy and Planning, Ministry of Finance. In: Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 22.
63. Survey Report on Tax Administration in Liberia: 1970, pp. 41-44.
64. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 18.
65. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 18.
66. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 18.
67. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, pp. 18-21.
68. I.e. estimated current expenditures, existing development programmes, debt service, transfers, and accounts payable during the years 1967 through 1970. Source: Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, pp. 33 and 38.
69. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 22.
70. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 127.
71. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 153.
72. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 139.
73. Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 24.
74. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1969, p. 25.
75. This was also realised by the designers and writers of the 1967-1970 Development Plan. See the Four Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1967-1970, p. 43.
76. Annual Report, Department of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1969-1970, p.v.

77. Annual Report, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1971-1972, p. 88. The Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs was one of the few ministries which submitted a report covering the October 1, 1971 - December 31, 1972 period following the change of the Fiscal Year in the course of 1972 by the new Administration.
78. Annual Report, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1974, p. 20.
79. National Socio-Economic Development Plan 1976-1980, p. 1.
80. National Socio-Economic Development Plan 1976-1980, p. 7.
81. National Socio-Economic Development Plan 1976-1980, p. 8.
82. National Socio-Economic Development Plan 1976-1980, p. 8.
83. Annual Report, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1977, p. 10 and (inserted) "Corrigendum".
84. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1977-1978, Statistical Annex, pp. 29-32. Also see Annex 26.
85. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1977-1978, Statistical Annex, p. 28.
86. Finance Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979, p. 13.
87. "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants and Assistance from International Organizations; Obligations and Loan Authorizations July 1, 1945 - September 30, 1977", p. 107.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 11

1. In fact, since the arrival of the first colonists, the dominating group of Americo-Liberians had feared that they would be overwhelmed and drowned in a sea of tribal people. For this reason they supported immigration schemes almost without exception (see Annex 2). To conduct the economic affairs of the country the Americo-Liberian population lacked both the know-how to start the needed investments. Furthermore, they needed the support of a number of additional people since their small number would not even allow them to run these big enterprises. Many Americo-Liberians traditionally preferred to be a politician or a preacher. If their need for allies resulted in the choice of tribal people as partners in business or commercial affairs, the same old fear of being dominated by a numerically more important tribal population would emerge again. Thus, as usual, the Americo-Liberians continued to look abroad for the needed assistance. See also Chapter 14.
2. Outlook, Vol 1, No. 2, October 1977, pp. 4-6: *"We're moving too slowly..."*. Interview with United Methodist Bishop Bennie Warner.
3. Tarpeh: 1978, pp. 256 ff.
4. Coale: 1977, p. 224.
5. Verbal communication from Mrs. M. von Rundstedt, UNESCO expert, to the present author. May 1975, Monrovia.
6. The Liberian Inaugural: April 6, 1977, p. 5.
7. Carlsson: 1977, pp. 26-30.
8. The non-availability of some numbers resulted from the haphazard organisation of the distribution and sales of irregularly produced local newspapers. For this reason, a few numbers which appeared during this three year period were not included. Since their number was very limited, it is not very likely that this will diminish the value of the general conclusions of this research.
9. The advertisement invited applications for the job of Manager of the Technical Department. In Liberian Age: October 29, 1976, p. 4.
10. The Liberian Star: March 25, 1975, p. 6; and: The Liberian Star: July 16, 1976, p. 5.
11. The other two companies were the "Oost Afrikaansche Compagnie" and "Jos Hansen & Soehne".
12. For various articles on this counterfeit money case see: The Liberian Star: October 14, 1975, pp. 1 and 8, "Tucker Case"; The Liberian Star: October 16, 1975, p. 1, "Tucker accuses C.I.D. officials"; The Liberian Age: October 21, 1975, p. 1, "Tucker trial Ends".
For Tucker's appointment as Housing and Town Services Planner within the newly created Community Department in Nimba see: LAMCO News: March/April 1977, p. 19.
13. Coale: 1977, p. 213 and note 66.
14. Coale: 1977, p. 223.
15. The present author sent various letters with requests for relevant information as well as reminders to foreign investors operating in Liberia. This was done in March, May and

October 1979. Thereplies in response to inquiries to both the B.F. Goodrich Company and the Alan L. Grant Company (Liberia), respectively, are quoted herewith and may illustrate the reactions of these companies. B.F. Goodrich in a letter to the present author, dated October 26, 1979: "(...) *Most of the information you request is proprietary and we have no wish to make it public.(...)*" The letter did not state the reason why the company's management preferred to keep this information from the general public's knowledge. Alan L. Grant Company (Liberia) Inc. in a letter to the present author, dated November 1, 1979: "(...) *I regret to inform you that we are not authorized to divulge the information you seek.(...)*" It was not mentioned, however, who had withheld this authorization and for what reasons.

16. The Liberian Age: January 27, 1976, p. 6.
17. The Liberian Star: October 3, 1975, p. 5.
18. The Liberian Star: June 4, 1975, p. 1.
19. The Liberian Age: October 26, 1976, p. 3.
20. Thelma Goll had probably been married to Gabriel Dennis, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 1940's and 1950's. This author, however, was unable to have this information confirmed.
21. The New Liberian: June 7, 1979, p. 12. Also see: The Liberian Star: February 27, 1975, p. 3.
22. This example is a particularly interesting one as Gbarbea, a Kpelle, had no social links with the Americo-Liberian community. During the Tubman Administration he had been appointed Superintendent of Bong County where the Kpelle dominate. In 1968 he was among those highly placed government officials of tribal origin who were sacked and arrested, accused of participating in a plot to assassinate President Tubman. In 1971 President Tolbert, in an attempt to get more tribal people into the Government, made him the country's first Minister of Lands and Mines. Coale describes "(...) *Then after he was let go from this position, Mr. Gbarbea was hired by Bong Mine at President Tolbert's or other high officials' request, as their Director of Personnel (...)*". In 1975 James Gbarbea was elected as one of Bong County's representatives to the National Legislature, but he retained his position at the B.M.C. (Coale: 1977, pp. 228-229). This example also well illustrates the conflicts of interests which, above all, characterised the Tolbert Administration.
23. Very probably T. Nelson Williams formed part of the Williams clan of which four members were cabinet ministers in 1975. Allen H. Williams and Edwin Williams, father and son respectively, were Minister of Defense and Minister of Finance, respectively, while Lawrence and Lafayette Morgan were Minister of Justice and Minister of State without Portfolio respectively. President Tolbert, however, soon considered this too much power concentrated in too few hands and ended this situation within a year (Allen H. Williams had been married to Lawrence Morgan's sister).
24. Married in July 1975 to the former Nadia Hawa Yancy (of Harper, Maryland County).
25. Coale: 1977, p. 210.

26. Coale: 1977, p. 207.
27. Verbal communication from Dr. Togba Nah Tipoteh to the present author, May 1976, Monrovia.
28. Guannu: 1977, p. 16.
29. Buell: 1928, p. 757.
30. Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1906, p. 31.
31. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Fiscal Year ended September 30th, 1919, pp. 31 and 37.
32. The Brunot Report: 1931, p. 20.
33. Buell: 1928, p. 760.
34. Buell: 1928, p. 757.
35. Letter from the Acting Financial Advisor to the Republic of Liberia to the Hon. the Secretary of the Treasury, dated October 6, 1932 (T 205/648/1932). In: N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
36. Buell: 1928, pp. 757-761. Official figures, however, present a different situation. In 1928 the Interior Department reported that there were only four public schools in the Hinterland "located respectively in Voinjama and Ziggida in District No. 1, Gbanga in District No. 2 and Sanniqueellie in District No. 3". In: Report of the Secretary of Interior; Interior Department, Monrovia, October 1, 1928. In: N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
37. Buell: 1928, p. 761.
38. Brown: 1941, p. 52.
39. Buell: 1928, p. 761.
40. Yancy: 1967, p. 131.
41. Brown, Mary A.: 1963, pp. 79-80.
42. Richard and Doris Henries, Ernest Jerome Yancy, Robert A. Smith and E. Reginald Townsend have written books which were, and still are, used in Liberian schools and which present a very one-sided and biased view of the history of Liberia and the contributions to it by various segments of its population.
43. See e.g. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1947-1948, pp. 5-7; and: Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1952-1953.
44. Annual Reports, Department of Public Instruction, 1947-1948 and 1948-1949.
45. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1947-1948.
46. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1949-1950, pp. 16-17.
47. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1951-1952.
48. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1949-1950.
49. 1962 Census of Population Summary Report for Liberia (PC-B), p. vii.
50. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, p. 138.
51. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 25-30.
52. 1962 Census of Population Area Report for Monteserrado County, Tables 2-B and 12-B.
53. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia, 1963, p. 15.
54. The document "A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia" variously mentions that three, four and even five buildings were publicly owned. In: A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 9 and 15.
55. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 9-25.
56. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 67-79.
57. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, p. 68.

58. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 96-108.
59. Grimes Brown: 1967, p. 169.
60. Grimes Brown: 1967, p. 169.
61. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, p. 56.
62. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, p. 65.
63. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 78 and 82.
64. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, p. 83.
65. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 79-81.
66. A Five Year Plan for Education in Liberia: 1963, pp. 128-135.
67. 1962 Census of Population Summary Report for Monserrado County, Table 12.
68. Annual Report, Department of Education, 1963-1964, Annex E and Annex F.
69. Annual Report, Department of Public Instruction, 1957-1958, p. 84.
70. The National Education Survey: 1978, p. 3.
71. The National Education Survey: 1978, p. 4.
72. The National Education Survey: 1978, p. 7.
73. The National Education Survey: 1978, pp. 19-20.
74. The New Liberian: July 6, 1978, p. 2 reported the arrival of the Boeing 737 jet in Liberia.
75. Budget FY 1977/78, pp. 385, 395 and 411 respectively.
76. Budget FY 1977/78, p. 577.
77. The National Education Survey: 1978, p. 33.
78. The National Education Survey: 1978, pp. 11-13.
79. The National Education Survey: 1978, pp. 40-42.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 12

1. The 1889 concession, which was reactivated in 1894, had been granted to F.F. Whittekin of Tionesta, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. (Cassell: 1970, pp. 346 and 368). Also see Chapter 2.
2. In this case the concessionaire was the German trading firm of Wiechers and Helm of Hamburg. This firm had already been engaged in development oriented activities in the nineteenth century. In 1895 a concession had been granted to the Tramway Company of Montserrado County to construct a light line across the plain between the Junk and Mesurado Rivers. Wiechers and Helm were then considered the potential financiers of this project of which the investment costs had been estimated at some \$ 15,000. (Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1907, p. 15) The plans, however, never materialized. Still, in 1910 the German trading firm spent \$ 3,000. on research for a route suitable for a railway between Millsburg and Bopora, and from Careysburg to the River in Montserrado County, and for a short line between Half Cavalla and Dimalu in Maryland County. (Annual Message, President Arthur Barclay, 1911, p. 11.)
3. Joint Resolution Authorizing the President of Liberia to enter into Negotiations with Mr. F.P. McMuller of Tacoma, Washington, U.S.A., for the Exploitation of Hardwoods in and about the Anglo-Liberian Frontier and Concerning the Building of a Railway to the Anglo-Liberian Frontier through Montserrado County; approved September 16, 1914. Also in 1914, the Legislature passed another act, relevant to mention in this respect: "An Act Amendatory to an Act Incorporating the Coast and Hinterland Railroad Company Passed by Limitation, A.D., 1911". Unfortunately, no information has been found with respect to the background and objectives of this Company.
4. Chaudhuri: 1972-1974, p. 35.
5. Anderson: 1952, p. 156.
6. Anderson: 1952, pp. 155-159.
7. N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
8. The Brunot Commission stated in its report that important amounts had been embezzled and construction material meant to be used for the construction of the Monrovia-Kakata road had been diverted to the construction of privately owned houses in the capital. In: The Brunot Report: 1931, p. 29.
9. N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
10. A wide gap existed between Liberia's neutral policy in theory and in practice. U.S. planes with crates containing parts and spare parts of planes were flown into Liberia. These crates were unloaded and unpacked at Snafu Point, at the mouth of the Farmington River. The planes were subsequently assembled and, after completion, flown via Bamako and/or Ouagadougou to Iran and Lebanon. Source: Interview with Julius Walker, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to Upper Volta who was accredited to the U.S. Diplomatic Mission in Monrovia from 1979 to 1981; interview held in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, November 5, 1982. Very few Liberians know that the U.S. Army arbitrarily named this place SNAFU.

11. Azikiwe: 1934, pp. 342-344.
12. A very small portion of Liberia's international trade entered and left the country at Foya located in the north-western corner of the Republic at the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border.
13. Anderson: 1952, pp. 160-162.
14. During the Administration of President Edwin Barclay, the Constitution was amended to change the length of the first Presidential term of office from four to eight years and to allow a second term of only four years. Tubman later introduced other amendments to the Constitution with respect to the Presidential term of office. These changes enabled him, finally, to stay in power for 27 years. These successful changes of the Constitution permitting this long reign over Liberia, however, were not uncontested. See Wreh: 1976.
15. Annual Report, Department of Public Works and Utilities, 1952-1953, p. 1.
16. See Annex 21.
17. "Department of Public Works & Utilities - An Administrative Survey Report (Report No. 4)" By The Special Commission on Government Operations, p. 14 (Republic of Liberia, November 1961). To be referred to henceforth as "SCOGO Report No. 4".
18. SCOGO Report No. 4, p. 17.
19. SCOGO Report No. 4, p. 18.
20. Annual Report, Bureau of Economic Research and Statistics/Office of National Planning, 1961-1962, pp. 25-26.
21. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 53.
22. Data on road mileage of private concessions refer to 1977; a breakdown for 1978 was not available. (Source: CS/(Un-organised)MF/M.)
23. "Liberia: Growth With Development, A Basic Economic Report, Vol. VI, Transport System", p. i (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/International Development Association, Report No. 426-LBR, dated April 30, 1974).
24. Annual Report, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation, 1971-1972, pp. 66-68.
25. Annual Report, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation, 1977, p. 150.
26. Annual Report, Department of Commerce and Industry, 1969-1970, p. 72.
27. Annual Report, Ministry of Public Works, 1976, pp. 32-33.
28. The Programme was divided into three portions: (i) a reorganisation of the Ministry of Public Works, (ii) a road construction programme and (iii) a road maintenance programme. The major organisational changes introduced under the Programme were the creation of a Construction Bureau, a Maintenance Section, and a Highway, Planning and Programming Bureau within the Ministry of Public Works. Further, the technical assistance to the Ministry by donor countries was increased.
During the first phase of the Five Year Road Maintenance and Development Programme, an all weather primary road was constructed between Clay (in Bomi Territory) and Tienne (in Grand Cape Mount County). This road led to the Mano River. A paved road between Paynesville and Robertsfield

International Airport was also realised, and the Capital Bypass in the city of Monrovia was paved. The second phase consisted of the construction of the "Monrovia Freeway". This road, connecting the Kakata Highway (east of Monrovia) with the U.S. Drive to the Free Port of Monrovia had already been constructed in the 1960's but faulty technical engineering as well as the absence of any maintenance activities had soon rendered this road useless. This road had been designed to alleviate the traffic situation in Monrovia by providing a short cut between the road coming from the interior and the Free Port. The 8.5 mile long two lane road was financed by a \$ 2.3 million loan from the I.B.R.D. and was constructed by the Italian firm of Porte della Torre. The same firm also realised the Monrovia Street and Drainage Project which was financed by a \$ 12 million loan from the Italian Government. This second Phase also included the detailed engineering of some projects which were subsequently executed during the third Phase of the Programme.

Among these projects were the construction and realignment of the Totota-Ganta Highway, the construction of a bridge across the Mesurado River, the upgrading of a stretch of the United Nations Drive (in Monrovia), and the Upper Lofa Feeder Roads Project. The last mentioned project started in late 1976, under a three year programme, and consisted of the construction of 150 miles of feeder roads in Lofa County. The project was financed by the I.B.R.D. and the Liberian Government and was realised with technical assistance provided by the British Government. Additional feeder road projects in the eastern part of the country were executed, financed by USAID and the Liberian Government. The former financed the greater part of the costs of these roads with a loan amounting to about \$ 4 million. One road connected Pleebo with Barclayville, Maryland County. The cost of this 48 mile road was about \$ 3.1 million. A second road was the 55 mile Saclepea-Bahn-Kahnple-Sanniquellie road which cost about \$ 1.7 million. Both roads were constructed by Liberian owned firms.

29. Caldwell was the Secretary of the American Colonization Society during the early days of the 19th century colonisation of Liberia. Bushrod Island was named after one of the founders of the A.C.S., Bushrod Washington, nephew of the U.S. President George Washington. Many streets in the centre of Monrovia are named after Agents of the colonisation movement such as Mechlin, Gurley, Ashmun. Outside the capital many names are also reminders of the past of the Americo-Liberian colonisation of this region: Mississippi in Africa, Maryland in Africa, Louisiana, Virginia.
30. For the preceding section valuable information was found in the following newspapers and reports: The Liberian Age, dated July 29, 1977, pp. 6-7, "Road Construction and Maintenance - Liberia's Priority Programme"; The Liberian Age, dated February 27, 1976, pp. 4-5, "Bridge: Nucleus of Mano River Union"; The Liberian Age, dated February 24, 1976, pp. 1 and 8, "Drs. Tolbert, Stevens to Dedicate Mano Bridge"; The Sunday Express dated October 8, 1978, p. 8, "O.A.U. Projects Nearing

- Completion"; Report on Multi-Donor Conference on Five Year Highway Maintenance and Development Programme (1973-1977).
31. I.B.R.D./I.D.A. Report No. 426-LBR, dated April 30, 1974, p. 20.
 32. Export, Import, and Shipping Statistics for the calendar years 1942 and 1943. Bureau of Revenues, Division of Customs. In: N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
 33. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1968, pp. 110-112.
 34. I.B.R.D./I.D.A. Report No. 426-LBR, dated April 30, 1974, p. 18.
 35. Nelson and Shoup: 1966, pp. 38 and 91.
 36. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1969, pp. 95-99.
 37. I.B.R.D./I.D.A. Report No. 426-LBR, dated April 30, 1974, pp. 17-21.
 38. The Liberian Age, dated November 17, 1978, "DENCO acquires new ship".
 39. This was not the first time Government participated in a commercial shipping enterprise. In the early 1960's there already existed the "Liberian Shipping Lines Inc." which company was jointly owned by the Government of Liberia (50 percent) and by Dutch and Israeli interests (25 percent each). The company owned two ships which had cost about \$ 6.7 million each, of 31,000 dead weight tons. Its crew was largely Chinese and the officers Dutch. Very few Liberians were employed on these ships. (Source: Harvey Klemmer, 1964, pp. 19-21.
 40. See page 217 (Chapter 8).
 41. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1967, p. 70.
 42. Annual Report, 1971-1972, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation, pp. 85-87.
 43. For the preceding and following sections valuable information was found in the following publications: The Liberian Reporter, dated March 16, 1978, pp. 4-5, "Focus on Air Transport"; The Sunday Express, dated February 28, 1978, pp. 2-3, "Air Liberia justifies public trust"; Outlook, February 1978, pp. 19-21, "Air Liberia is putting Liberia on the map".
 44. Annual Report, 1977, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation, pp. 133-138.
 45. This national airline was at its lowest ebb in 1970 when one of the two planes, which were more than 20 years old, crashed while on a domestic flight. Scheduled services were even then reduced to flights between Monrovia - Robertsfield - Greenville - Harper. Source: Annual Report, 1969-1970, Department of Commerce and Industry, pp. 108-110.
 46. Among those international airlines were: Air Afrique, Air Nigeria, Cameroon Airlines, Ghana Airways, British Caledonian, Middle East Airline, K.L.M., Sabena, S.A.S., Lufthansa, Swiss Air, PanAm, and U.T.A.
 47. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 54.
 48. Between 1976 and 1979 the number of domestic air traffic passengers reportedly tripled: from 28,771 in 1976, to 31,613 (1977), 47,419 (1978), and 83,220 (1979). No explanation for this spectacular growth, however, has been discovered. (Source: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, pp. 54-55.

49. Telephones had been introduced into Liberia in 1910 when the Germans installed a telephone system in Monrovia. Occasionally the Government established a modern communication system between settler communities. E.g. the telephone links between the capital and Marshall (1926) and between Monrovia and White Plains (late 1920's), and a telegraphic system extending to Grand Bassa County (1920's). By 1944, however, the only telephone system working in the country connected the homes and offices of the executives on the Firestone Plantation. Telegraphic communications within the country were non-existent in the same year. On the other hand, contacts between Liberia and North and South America were easy. There existed a direct service between Liberia (Firestone's Harbel plantation) and the U.S.A. (Akron Ohio, the headquarters of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company) which had started in 1928. At the request of the Liberian Government, the Americans had constructed a short wave wireless in the late 1920's which connected the coast of Liberia with New York in the U.S.A. As early as 1910, Liberia had been linked with South America by cable, operated by the "Deutsch-Sudamerikanische Telegraphengesellschaft" though this connection came to an end in 1917 when the Germans were compelled to leave Liberia. In 1912 the French had started a cable and wireless station, "French Cables", which was still in operation in 1977. Sources: The Brunot Report: 1931, Appendix VI, p. 27; Azikiwe: 1934, p. 30; Brown 1941, p. 40; Townsend and Brown Jones: 1969, p. 195.
50. See The Liberian Age, dated June 25, 1976, pp. 1 and 2: "\$ 3 million Earth Satellite Station Opens" and: The Liberian Age, dated September 29, 1978, p. 3, "Telecom to Increase Satellite Capacity".
51. The New Liberian, dated January 18, 1979, p. 6, "Focus: Preparing for O.A.U.".
52. The Liberian Omega Navigational Station is one of eight such stations around the world. The others were planned in Norway, Australia, Argentina, Japan, France, and two in the U.S.A. (North Dakota and Hawaii). Sources: The Liberian Star, dated February 16, 1976, p. 6, "President Tolbert to dedicate \$ 7.4 million Omega Navigational Station"; The Liberian Star, dated February 18, 1976, p. 3, "Government's role in Omega Station Highlighted"; The Liberian Star, dated February 19, 1976, p. 1, "Omega Navigation Station Opened", and West Africa dated August 23, 1982, p. 2150-2151, "Dr. Doe in Washington". The late Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, David Franklin Neal, told me in Totota on July 19, 1975 that the U.S. Embassy was known by the Liberian Government to be a bridgehead for intelligence service operations carried out in Africa. He also said that the number of people assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia was about 500.
53. Johnny McClain is of tribal (Bassa) origin and was adopted and subsequently raised by President Tolbert's sister, Florence McClain. Americo-Liberian families occasionally adopted children of tribal descent who, eventually, in most cases, became accepted as a member of the Americo-Liberian community. By accepting the values of the Americo-Liberian community these (tribal) children "became" Americo-Liberians. Johnny McClain

was no exception to this rule. In 1980, after the military coup of Master-Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, he was among the government ministers who were arrested and tried. He escaped execution because of his tribal background.

54. West Africa, dated August 23, 1982, pp. 2150-2151, "Dr. Doe in Washington".

55. Interview with U.S. Ambassador, Julius Walker, Jr. held in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, November 5, 1982.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 13

1. Anderson: 1952, p. 223.
2. Akpan: 1975, pp. 20-21.
3. Customs duties fell from \$ 471,000 in 1913 to \$ 149,000 in 1917. In: N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
4. "A Report by the Supervisor of Customs, Charles I. McCaskey, R.L., For the period from January 1, 1932 to July 31, 1932", dated September 15, 1932 (Monrovia), p. 4. In: N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
5. "A Report by the Supervisor of Customs, Charles I. McCaskey, R.L., For the period from January 1, 1932 to July 31, 1932", dated September 15, 1932 (Monrovia), p. 4. In: N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
6. "Review of Foreign Trade for the years 1934 and 1935", in: Archives of the Department of the Treasury - 1936. In: N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
7. Chaudhuri: 1972-1974, pp. 40-47. Also see: N.A./ (Unorganised)MFA/M.
8. Situation as of May 1978.
9. Lief: 1951.
10. Verbal communication to this author from David Chen, World Bank mission leader assigned to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia. Also see pp. 436-439.
11. "Sources and Methods of Estimation of National Product 1970-1973", Forward (MPEA, July 1975).
12. Barkay: 1966.
13. Clower: 1966, p. 47.
14. "Sources and Methods of Estimation of National Product 1970-1973", p. vi (MPEA, July 1975).
15. The two documents concerned here are: (1) "Sources and Methods of Estimation of National Product 1970-1973", and (2) Economic Survey of Liberia 1978. Published by the MPEA in 1975 and 1979 respectively.
16. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 11.
17. The NSSWC Employers Directory, 1977, pp. 160-166.
18. The NSSWC Employers Directory, 1977, p. i.
19. The NSSWC Employers Directory, 1977, pp. 3-94.
20. The NSSWC Employers Directory, 1977, p. 97.
21. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1977, p. 17.
22. In 1944 the Cabinet was composed of the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, Public Works, Public Instruction, the Postmaster-General and the Attorney-General.
23. Liebenow: 1969, pp. 131-148.
24. Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1977, p. 17; Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1977/78, p. 15; and Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, 1978/79, p. 5.
25. Clower: 1966, p. 47.
26. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1967, pp. 1-4.
27. Annual Report, Department of Planning and Economic Affairs, 1969-1970, p. v.
28. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1970, pp. 9 and 11.
29. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 2.
30. Author's estimate based on (i) Clower: 1966, pp. 29 and 47-48;

- (ii) Annual Report of the Bureau of Economic Research and Statistics, 1961-1962, and the Office of National Planning, 1962, Table I, p. 15; (iii) Economic Surveys of Liberia: 1967; 1971; 1972; 1974; (iv) Table 69, p. 438.
31. Author's estimate based on (i) Clower: 1966, pp. 29 and 47-48; (ii) Annual Report of the Bureau of Economic Research and Statistics, 1961-1962, and the Office of National Planning, 1962, Table I, p. 15 (iii) National Income of Liberia: 1968, p. 20; (iv) Economic Survey of Liberia, 1978, p. 4, and (v) Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 4.
32. 8,995 Liberians or other Africans earned \$ 25.3 million whereas 893 non-African expatriates received in the same year (1978) \$ 22.6 million. Source: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 35.
33. The following has been assumed: (1) the 1978 population was calculated to be 1,711,853 people, based on the results of the 1974 Census and a 3.3 growth rate; (2) 25% of the 1978 G.D.P. represents Foreign Factor Payments, resulting in a National Income of \$ 502.5 million; (3) 30% of the population lived in the urban centres (Hasselmann: 1979, p. 148, reports 29.7% in urban areas). Also see: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, pp. 2 and 10.
34. Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 11.
35. National Socio-Economic Development Plan, 1976-1980, pp. i-iv.
36. Akpa, E., "A Comparative Study of the Old and New Personal Tax Structures (A preliminary report)", (internal document, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, undated).
37. Interview with W. Boissevain, General Manager of the Salala Rubber Corporation, at the company's headquarters in Liberia, May 16, 1978.
38. Huberich: 1947, p. 909.
39. When I mentioned this to an Americo-Liberian lady working in the Ministry of Finance in November 1977, she only reacted: "What? Only two dollars???".
40. Kuhn: 1975, pp. 43-53.
41. Section 4 of the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia reads: "There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly."
42. Huberich: 1947, pp. 393-397, 706, and 895-896.
43. They were Charles D.B. King, Samuel A. Ross and Allen N. Yancy, respectively. See Brown: 1941 and Davis: 1976 for detailed information on the illegal activities of Yancy and Ross respectively.
44. Azikiwe: 1934, pp. 170-173 quoting from President Howard's Annual Message of December 1913 to the National Legislature.
45. The tragic Wedabo Beach incident for which Allen N. Yancy bore responsibility is very illustrative in this respect. In: Brown: 1941, pp. 151-152.
46. Pawning and domestic slavery were common in Liberia's interior as well as other parts of Africa in those days. After the publication of the Christy Report, these practices were no longer allowed legally in Liberia. Also see: d'Avazado: 1969, pp.58-62.

47. Huberich: 1947, p. 899.
48. Brown: 1941, pp. 150-158.
49. Brown: 1941, pp. 150-158.
50. Simpson: 1961, p. 154.
51. Anderson: 1952, p. 136.
52. Huberich: 1947, pp. 914-915.
53. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Interior Department, Monrovia, Liberia. Dated October 1, 1928. In: N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
54. Paul Artis, June 12, 1976, Monrovia.
55. National Archives/ (Unorganised) MFA/M. Also see: Taylor: 1956, pp. 65-70.
56. Bush: 1954; also see Taylor: 1956, pp. 65-70.
57. Taylor: 1956, pp. 65-70 and Clower: 1966, pp. 149-151.
58. Derrick: 1975, p. 203. Chapter 10 is particularly interesting in this respect. As Clower states "*Labor recruitment and wage determination are closely related*" (Clower, 1966, p. 149), and "*The technique that keeps wage rates down without producing a severe labor shortage is involuntary labor recruitment under government auspices*" (p. 150). After the abolishment of the labour recruitment policy, wages rose. Since plantation workers were prohibited by law from organising trade unions to negotiate wage contracts and other fringe benefits for their members, wages remained at a relatively low level. Plantation workers and other tribal people were thus kept economically dependent and politically docile (Tarpeh: 1976, pp. 14-15).
59. Annual Message, President King, 1928. In: N.A./ (Unorganised) MFA/M.
60. Schulze: 1963, p. 21.
61. "The National Income of Liberia, 1966" (DPEA, April 1968, p. 35).
62. Annual Report, Rubber Purchasing Department, Firestone Plantations Company, 1952-1953.
63. Annual Report, Rubber Purchasing Department, Firestone Plantations Company, 1952-1953.
64. See e.g. the "Progress Report, Office of National Planning: Study of the Firestone Strike", July 2, 1963, p. 1. In: Library, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia.
65. Annual Report, Rubber Purchasing Department, Firestone Plantations Company, 1951-1952.
66. Annual Report, Rubber Purchasing Department, Firestone Plantations Company, 1977.
67. Communication to this author from a British Rubber Advisor who preferred to remain anonymous, Harper, November 22, 1978.
68. Anonymous British Rubber Advisor, Harper, November 22, 1978.

ANNEX 1

One of the gaps in Liberian History: President Roye's death and his succession.

The Roye episode shows that historical information on Liberia is fragmentary, unreliable, contradictory, and incomplete. The episode forms one of the most confusing ones in the history of the Liberian Republic.

President Edward Roye was deposed on October 26, 1871. What exactly happened after his imprisonment is not known. The way in which, and even the day on which he died, are not known with certainty. His succession too is surrounded by mysteries. According to some sources (Huberich, Banks Henries) Roye escaped from prison but was drowned while trying to escape to a British ship. One author (Huberich) reports that the canoe in which Roye tried to make his escape capsized after which he drowned. The English money, which he had tied around his waist - thought to be the proceeds from the 1870 Loan - was taken from his body and stolen after his body was brought ashore (1). Another author (Banks Henries) writes that the weight of the money around his waist was the cause of his drowning when he was swimming to a British ship (2).

According to other sources (Karnaga, Cassell) Roye died in prison, after having been dragged half-naked through the streets of Monrovia after his attempt to escape from prison (3). Cassell denies that Roye was drowned though he confirms that he carried money in a belt when he tried to escape. According to him, Roye was savagely beaten after being brought ashore and robbed of the money he carried in his belt (4). President Tubman was among the many Liberians who believed the version according to which Roye was brutally beaten after his deposition. This story states that Roye's (nude) body was dragged through the streets of Monrovia to a spot in Ashmun Street where he is reported to have died. This caused President Tubman to erect the new True Whig Party building on this same spot and to name the party headquarters after the deposed and - according to this version - murdered President (5). One of Roye's closest friends, Edward Blyden, however claimed that when "*Roye escaped from prison and was waiting for a boat, a mulatto shot him and published he got drowned*". (6)

Banks Henries reports February 12, 1872 as the date on which former President Roye died (7). This agrees with the information provided by Guannu, another contemporary Liberian historian (8). Richardson also refers to the date of February 12, 1872 though with less certainty than the other two Liberian authors (9). A visit to the fourth floor of the Executive Mansion in Monrovia which the author of the present study made in 1978 concerned the portrait gallery which showed portraits of all Liberian Presidents before William R. Tolbert. Apart from the fact that it was clearly visible that the first Presidents of Liberia were all "nearly whites", it was noted that under the portrait of E.J. Roye was written: "*died: February 11, 1872*". Who became President of Liberia after Roye had been deposed?

Also in this respect there is no agreement. Huberich and Richardson e.g. state that he was succeeded by his Vice-President, James S. Smith (10). Banks Henries reports that one week after the imprisonment of Roye, Vice-President Smith took over the reins of Government. She even quotes from the Annual Message to the Legislature which President Smith pronounced, on December 4, 1871 (11). Cassell, on the other hand, writes that "(...) the Vice-President (...) never appeared (...) to take over the reins of Government. Vice-President James S. Smith was a True Whig, and all True Whigs were being arrested then (...). In any event, Smith never became President of Liberia" (12).

Footnotes Annex 1:

1. Huberich: 1947; p. 1134.
2. Banks Henries: 1963; p. 55/56.
3. Karnga: 1926; p. 47 and Cassell: 1970; p. 279.
4. Cassell: 1970; p. 279.
5. Yancy: 1971; p. 230/231.
6. Blyden to Coppinger, 22 October 1887, A.C.S. Papers, Volume 24, in: Lynch: 1970; p. 51.
7. Banks Henries: 1963; p. 55.
8. Guannu: 1980; p. 36.
9. Richardson: 1959; p. 108.
10. Huberich: 1947; p. 1134/1135; Richardson: 1959; p. 107.
11. Banks Henries: 1966; p. 148.
12. Cassell: 1970; p. 279.

ANNEX 2

The Open Door: The Question of Immigration.

The goal of nation-building was directly linked with the task of christianizing Africa which Americo-Liberian politicians, as well as black people in the U.S.A., thought was the black colonists' responsibility. Throughout Liberia's history there is only one exception to this general conviction.

In 1848 President Roberts during his First Inaugural Address clearly manifested his view that "(...) *The Gospel, fellow citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent (...) it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country (...)*" (1).

Forty years later, in 1888, this was still the prevailing view. In that year Edward Blyden, one of the most well-known Liberians in Europe and in the U.S.A. of the 19th century, stated that "(...) *they (meant are here the people of Liberia - the author) stretch out their hands to the United States for the return of their exiled brethren, to increase their civilized and Christian force (...)*" (2).

Also abroad, in the U.S.A., blacks thought along these lines. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, an influential black American who propagated emigration to Liberia, declared in the 1890's: "(...) *God brought the Negro to America and christianized him so that he might go back to Africa and redeem that Land (...)*" (3). In the beginning of the 20th century, in 1904, President Arthur Barclay gave his view on the participation of black people from abroad during his First Inaugural Address: "(...) *Placed in the midst of a large semi-civilized population there is a great desire that we have more centers of civilization. The Liberian has been wont to regard the country as held in trust for his relatives in the United States. The colored American, or rather the class which would be available acquisition to the country - the men of some culture, the small capitalist and the man of initiative and push - is not inclined at present to come to Africa. The leaders of the colored people are opposed to emigration to Liberia. They are in the fight for social and political equality with the White American. The success of the struggle is for them very doubtful if not entirely hopeless. (...) The Government ought to have its own agencies for immigration located in the United States. (...) But that the United States is not the only source from which we may draw desirable immigrants has long been recognized. We have the West Indies and the English West African colonies (...)*" (4).

In 1920 President King virtually repeated these remarks made by President Arthur Barclay. As during these years the Marcus Garvey Movement advocated mass-emigration of blacks to Africa, he further said in his First Inaugural Address: "(...) *While immigration to our country should be carefully handled, so that we may not get an influx at any time of such large numbers of*

people as we would be unable to absorb into the body politic, yet there can be no doubt as to the desirability of adding to our Americo-Liberian population, settlers from America, who want to come here, and who, if carefully selected and properly aided would help us to build up the country. (...) we need not hesitate to send out to our race in foreign lands the Macedonian cry: "Come over and help us". (...) the Liberian Government must have its own agencies for immigration located in the United States - the American Colonization Society in Washington acting as the central agency. (...) It will therefore be the aim of the new administration to afford every facility to immigration on the lines above indicated (...) of immigration to Liberia of Negroes from America and the West Indies. (...)". Later, he was to refuse co-operation with the Marcus Garvey Movement - after being put under pressure from the French and British Governments (6).

President Edwin Barclay forms the only exception whose view on the question of immigration differed. Though he said that "(...) the doors will be opened wide and every facility within our means will be accorded to Negroes the world over who might feel that in Liberia they have an opportunity for advancement and for well-being. Nevertheless (...) we cannot wholly rely upon an influx from overseas (...)". It was the first time that a Liberian President acknowledged so clearly the Liberian realities. Further, because of the nation's shortages of public funds he stated firmly: "(...) For the present there can be no question of assisted immigration (...))" (7).

The absence of any reference to God and/or the christianizing task of the immigrant Negro-population in his Inaugural Addresses (both of 1932 and 1936) - except for the obligatory ending "GOD SAVE THE STATE" - makes of President Barclay another exceptional President. He was the only Liberian President known to be an atheist (8).

Around the middle of the 20th century, however, the official Liberian view with respect to the question of immigration had again embraced the historical view. In 1944 President William Tubman said in his First Inaugural Address, and his words closely resembled those of some of his predecessors: "(...) Placed in the midst of a large semi-civilized population we must be resolved, if we are to achieve the purposes for which the establishment of Liberia upon these western shores of Africa was intended, to shed the light of Christianity and civilization among our less favoured brethren and with them create a strong, unified African Negro State. (...)".

He continued how this in his view was to be achieved: "(...) We must have more centres of civilization distributed throughout our territories. The task before us is great. What is termed the "Americo-Liberian population" is diminishing. It needs vigorous new blood of our race from without to assist in the Herculean task set before them as bearers of the torch of Christianity and

civilization to their uncivilized brethren. I am therefore wholly inclined to the view that we should use every legitimate means at our disposal to encourage the immigration of our kith and kin to Liberia from the United States (...)" (9).

Footnotes Annex 2:

1. First Inaugural Address of President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, January 3, 1848, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 8.
2. Cassell: 1970; p. 345.
3. Davis: 1975; p. 59, quoting M.M. Ponton's "Life and Times of Henry M. Turner", p. 77 (Atlanta, 1917).
4. First Inaugural Address of President Arthur Barclay, January 4, 1904, in: Guannu: 1980; pp. 203 - 204.
5. First Inaugural Address of President Charles Dunbar Burgess King, January 5, 1920, in: Guannu: 1980; pp. 251 - 254.
6. Buell: 1928; pp. 730 - 733.
7. First Inaugural Address of President Edwin James Barclay, January 4, 1932, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 297.
8. See also "The Liberian Age", December 8, 1978, pp. 3 and 10: George A. Padmore, "Five Other Presidents Of Liberia As I Knew Them".
9. First Inaugural Address of President William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman, January 3, 1944, in: Guannu: 1980; p. 319.

ANNEX 3

STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT

Registered in 1914 to 1917	\$ 2,272,699.56
1918	2,131,700.10
1920	2,210,807.53
1923	2,013,163.36
1925	2,010,579.20
1926	1,873,772.66

/s/ Jeremiah J. Harris
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, R.L.

Source: National Archives, Monrovia, Liberia

ANNEX 4

PUBLIC DEBT, REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

AS AT AUGUST 31, 1926.

Refunding Loan, Balance 31/9/26	\$1,185,200.00
Due U.S.A. 1917 (Advance Peace Conference)	" 26,000.00
Due U.S.A. Navy Department	" 1,370.00
Due Bureau of Artistic & Literature	" 1,467.42
" League of Nations---Arrears---	" 7,962.96
" Bacquerville (Decorations)	" 500.00
" Rent, Fernando Poo	" 576.00

DOMESTIC FUNDED DEBT:

3% Internal Bonds	" 170,000.00
5% Internal Certificates-----approximately---	" 300,000.00
Arrears 1924/25	" 11,837.65
Due O. A. Cie (Crommelin)	" 7,432.00
General Postal Claims	" 10,998.45
Sundry Claims---Unfunded--	" 25,000.00
Arrears Liberian Frontier Force---approx---	" 121,758.00
Local Merchants	" 3,669.61

\$1,873,772.66

=====

Treasury Department
Bureau of Accounts,
Monrovia, 15th. Sept. 1926

(Sgd.) Dixon B. Brown
Comptroller of the Treasury
Republic of Liberia.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, R.L.

Source : National Archives, Monrovia, Liberia.

ANNEX 5

Republic of Liberia
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
Monrovia, LIBERIA

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY

July 12, 1971.

Mr. A.G.Lund
President
Firestone Plantations Company
Harbel

Dear Mr. Lund,

Asset Rental Charges

1. I draw your attention to numerous written requests made to your company by Income Tax Division from 1963 onwards on the above subject. In particular, I refer you to paragraph 5 of ITD 1065 of October 9, 1969 which reads:

"I again refer you to my letter of March 27, 1969, in which I requested you to provide figures, certified by your external auditors in the United States, of both the rental charge received by Akron from Liberia and the relevant appreciation expense allowed to Akron for income(tax) purposes for each of the years from 1955/56 to 1967/68 inclusive."

and to your reply of October 22, 1969 which reads:

" Our Home Office Auditors have requested a sixty day extension from Oct. 9 to enable them to provide you with the certification requested in paragraph 5, page 2 of the above letter under "Asset Rental Charge"."

2. This request was granted by the Division but you have still not supplied the information after a lapse of almost two years.
3. Failure to supply this information within thirty days of the date of this letter will leave me no course of action other than to instruct the Income Tax Division to issue additional assessments on the basis, either of estimates at present available or, even of disallowance of the asset rental charge altogether.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) L. Kwia Johnson
ACTING SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Source: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

ANNEX 6

October 7, 1969.

The Comptroller
R.F. Dempster
Firestone Plantation Company
Harbel, Liberia.

Enclosed please find a copy of my letter to you dated November 22, 1968 concerning the monthly rubber prices applied to shipments by your company. We are somewhat concerned that we have not received any monthly information since December 1968, notwithstanding the fact that we also send a reminder on this matter in my letter dated June 17, 1969.

Your cooperation in this matter will be much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd.) W. Edward Greaves

UNDER SECRETARY FOR REVENUES

Source: FF/(Unorganised)CS/MF/M.

ANNEX 7

The Planting Agreement
of 1926
with amendments of
1935, 1936, 1937, 1939,
1950, 1951, 1953, 1959, 1962
and 1965

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made and entered into at the City of Monrovia, this 2nd day of October in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-six by and between THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA hereinafter styled the Government, and FIRESTONE PLANTATIONS COMPANY, a Corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Delaware, with principal office in the City of Akron, State of Ohio. United States of America, hereinafter styled the Lessee
WITNESSETH:-

ARTICLE I

That the Government hath agreed and by these presents doth agree to grant, demise and to farm-let unto the Lessee for the period of Ninety-nine years from this date an area of land within the boundaries of the Republic of Liberia of one million acres or any lesser area that may be selected by the Lessee from time to time within said period of Ninety-nine years; such land to be suitable for the production of rubber or other agricultural products.

But should the Lessee fail

(a) To notify the Government of its acceptance of the conditions herein contained and stipulated within six months after the execution of this Agreement by the Government of Liberia;

(b) Or within one year thereafter to commence the selection of lands hereunder;

Then in such case the obligation of the Government under this Agreement shall be discharged and ended.

ARTICLE II

The Government, in consideration (1) of the establishment of Lessee's enterprise in the Republic of Liberia, (2) the payment of the revenue tax for which provision is made in paragraph (d) of Article III hereof, (3) the prepayment by Lessee of the sum of Four Hundred Thousand (\$400,000) dollars in bonds, at par, of the Liberian Government issued under the Loan Agreement of 1926, or any amendment thereof, as rent in full upon the one hundred and ten thousand (110,000) acres, approximately, of land now held by it under the Planting Agreement and the lease dated March 1, 1935, for the 90-year period beginning October 2, 1935

Net income shall be determined in accordance with generally accepted accounting practices and shall be understood to mean total net sales, less all cost of production, cost of operation, and all expense incidental thereto.

In the event the Lessee shall exercise the option contained in the "Assignment Agreement of 1949" to operate the plantations through a wholly owned corporate subsidiary, and so long as said plantations are so operated, the rights, privileges and immunities herein granted to the Lessee, including all fiscal and tax immunities, shall extend to and inure to the benefit of the Lessee and such subsidiary jointly and severally in the manner and to the extent necessary to enable each of them to enjoy the benefit of each and every provision of said "Planting Agreement" as amended from time to time, the same as though said Lessee and such subsidiary were one and the same and the payment by either the Lessee or such subsidiary of the income tax which may be lawfully assessed within the limits herein set forth or any other lawfully assessed tax, duty, impost or assessment of whatever kind or character, shall be considered as payment for each and for both. In other words the Lessee or any subsidiary thereof will pay one income tax only, irrespective of whether its plantation operations are conducted by the Lessee or its subsidiary. The Lessee and such corporate subsidiary shall be immune from the payment of any tax upon the declaration, payment or receipt of rents, dividends and all payments or transfers made by such subsidiary to the Lessee from surplus or net income as above defined shall not be subject to any tax assessment or deduction of any kind or character. (*)

(b) The Lessee's foreign employees, under contract or otherwise, shall be permitted to reside and work in the Republic, and to enter and depart therefrom, and they shall not be subject to the payment of any direct or personal taxes of whatsoever character; provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as creating an exemption in favor of such employees with respect to general property taxes or customs duties (**), or income taxes which are of general application under the laws of Liberia. (***)

(c) Lessee shall have the exclusive right and privilege upon the lands which shall be selected under this Agreement to construct highways, railways and waterways for the efficient operation and development of the properties. It is agreed that all trails across such lands used immemorially by the population shall be subject and open to free use by the public.

(d) Lessee shall have the right to construct and establish at its own expense, lines of communication and transportation such as highways, roadways, waterways, power lines, pipe lines and railways outside the lands selected under this Agreement. Such routes may be so located by the Lessee as to best serve the purpose of efficient operation of its plantations and enterprises, but the Lessee agrees to consult the Government in the matter of such location.

(*) Amendment of February 16, 1959.

(**) Amendment of March 20, 1935.

(***) Amendment of December 24, 1959, 2nd Supplement.

and ending October 2, 2025, and (4) the further payment of the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand (\$250,000) dollars in such bonds, at par, agrees that during the life of this Agreement Lessee shall have and enjoy the following additional rights and exemptions: (*)

(a) The Lessee shall be entitled to make such importations as it shall deem necessary for the operation and development of its plantations and to export without restriction the products thereof and freely to transport such exports and imports by land or water within the Republic; and the Lessee, except with respect to documentary stamp taxes of general application not exceeding existing rates as applied to exports and imports, and to consular fees of general application(**), shall be wholly free and exempt from any and all taxes, duties, dues, imposts, excises, license fees, inspection fees, wharfage dues, harbour dues highway tolls, and all other charges of whatsoever sort, description, or designation now or hereafter authorized, levied, or imposed by the Republic Of Liberia or by any entity now or hereafter acting or existing by its authority in the exercise of the inherent or delegated power (1) to tax persons, tangible or intangible property, transactions, or occupations; (2) to lay duties upon exports and imports or either; or (3) to subject the exercise of any lawful activity to the payment of license fees, wharfage or harbour dues, highway tolls or any other imposition whatsoever, whether of the general character of those herein expressly mentioned or otherwise; provided, nevertheless, that the exemptions from import and export duties hereby granted shall be and are restricted to the importation of things and substances for use, directly or indirectly, by the Lessee upon its leased lands in the operation and development thereof and not for sale or barter and to the exportation of the products of Lessee's leased lands; and provided further that motor vehicles in excess of one hundred and fifty owned and operated at any one time by Lessee shall be subject to the same license fees and taxes as are similar vehicles owned and/or operated by others(**); provided further that, notwithstanding the foregoing, in the event the Government shall levy an income tax of general application in the years' 1965 to 1973 (****), both inclusive, Lessee agrees to pay such tax on the net income derived from its plantation operations in the Republic of Liberia, provided that the rate of such tax shall not exceed forty-five per centum (45%) (****) in each of said years. If such tax shall be levied in the years mentioned, Lessee and any corporate subsidiary acting for it shall be wholly exempt from the payment of the revenue tax imposed by Article III, Paragraph (d), except that, should amount of revenue tax which would otherwise be payable at a rate equivalent to one and one-half per centum (1½%) of the value of all rubber and other commercial products of said plantations as calculated by the provisions of Article III, Paragraph (d) exceed the amount of income tax determined to be due, the greater tax shall be paid in lieu of any income tax in any such taxable year.

(*) Amendment of March 20, 1935.

(**) Amendment of November 27, 1951, 2nd Supplement.

(***) Amendment of March 20, 1935.

(****) Amendment of January 27, 1965.

All highways and roadways in this paragraph mentioned shall, upon completion, become public property. But the Government, in any event, shall not be required to refund to the Lessee any sums of money expended by it in the construction and maintenance of such highways, roadways, waterways or railways.

Lessee may use during the term of this Agreement any Government land not already devoted to some other incompatible use, for rights of way, not to exceed eighty (80) feet in width and station areas not exceeding five acres, for any highway, roadway, waterway, powerline, pipe line or railway constructed by it beyond the confines of land held by it under lease by selection under this Agreement; provided, that for lands occupied by the Lessee under the provisions of this paragraph, rent shall be paid at the rate provided by Paragraph (c) of Article III hereof except as to such land situated within the boundaries of organized municipalities, as to which land rent shall be paid at the rate of 50 ¢ per acre per annum. (*)

(e) The Lessee shall have the right to construct, maintain and operate lines of communication for the purpose of more efficiently operating its plantations and enterprises, such as telegraph lines, telephone lines and radio communication stations upon the lands selected and held under this Agreement and beyond the confines thereof, subject to the provisions of paragraph (h), Article IV of this Agreement. To the extent necessary for any or all of the foregoing purposes, the Lessee may use, for a period to expire with this Agreement, any Government land not already devoted to some other incompatible use, provided that the width of any right of way so occupied on Government land for telegraph or telephone lines shall not exceed forty (40) feet, and that land, occupied exclusively for telegraph, telephone or radio stations shall not exceed five acres in extent. The Lessee shall also be and is hereby granted the right, directly or through any corporate subsidiaries or affiliates, as licensees or assignees, to construct, maintain and operate for its own use and that of its subsidiary or affiliate corporations and for public service a domestic and foreign radio communication system; and to determine the rates to be charged the public for such service; provided, however, that the Government shall be entitled to transmit messages on official business over any radio system established hereunder at rates not exceeding one half of the rates charged the general public; and provided, further, that the rates charged the public for domestic service shall be fixed by agreement with the Government and the rates for foreign service shall not be higher than those charged by any competing radio service; and provided further, that messages deposited by the public, with any Government radio station now or hereafter existing for transmission on the domestic or foreign radio communication system of the Lessee established hereunder shall be transmitted by radio communication by said Government radio station to the nearest radio receiving station of the Lessee according to the rates, schedules and conditions to be fixed by Agreement with the Government.

(*) Amendment of December 28, 1939.

All tax exemptions granted the Lessee under the provisions of paragraph (a) of Article II of this Agreement or any amendment thereof shall be enjoyed by any subsidiary or affiliate corporation operating a radio service under license or assignment by Lessee of the rights granted by this paragraph. The frequencies granted the Lessee by its contract with the Government of the Republic of Liberia dated January 22, 1929, and now in use under assignment by its subsidiary United States-Liberia Radio Corporation, and the frequencies enumerated in the letter of the Firestone Plantations Company to the Postmaster General of the Republic of Liberia, dated February 9, 1934, and as set out in the Memorandum of Agreement between the Lessee and the Postmaster General of the Republic of Liberia, dated March 20th, 1935, together with frequencies 35140, 33860, 37060 and 37460 for point to point radio communication between the Lessee's stations in Liberia, shall be available to the Lessee and/or its subsidiaries, affiliates, licensees, or assignees during the life of this Agreement. The Government in case of war or other public emergency, so declared by the President of Liberia, shall have the right to use the lines of communication to which this paragraph relates. (*)

(f) The Lessee shall have the right to cut and use all timber upon the lands covered by this Agreement but if it shall engage in the sale of lumber to be removed from such lands for export it shall pay the Government royalty of two (2) cents per cubic foot for the lumber so sold. (**)

(g) The Lessee shall have the exclusive right to engage in any operations upon the lands held under this Agreement in addition to the agricultural activities herein authorized, including the exclusive right to take by mining or any similar operations the mineral contents of the subsoil of the leased lands; provided, nevertheless, that any precious metals or precious stones so obtained by Lessee shall be subject to a royalty payment to the Government of not to exceed ten per centum (10%) of the value thereof. (***)

(h) The Government warrants to the Lessee the title to all lands selected by it upon which the Government shall accept the rental or compensation as herein provided and will defend and protect such title for the benefit of the Lessee.

The Government further agrees that (****) the Lessee shall not be required by compulsion of law to maintain a scale of wages, benefits and conditions of employment in excess of (1) the average of the prevailing compensation paid (2) benefits granted and (3) conditions of employment maintained from time to time by other employers of like labour in comparable work for like hours of labour in Liberia and other tropical countries of West Africa. (*****)

- (*) Amendment of March 20, 1935, as further amended by the Agreement of December 28, 1939.
- (**) Amendment of March 3, 1936.
- (***) Amendment of March 20, 1935.
- (****) Amendment of November 2, 1962.
- (*****) Amendment of November 10, 1937.

ARTICLE III

The Lessee in consideration of the Agreements herein by the Government hath agreed and by these presents doth agree as follows:

(a) To notify the Government within a period of six (6) months after the execution of this Agreement by the Government of Liberia of its acceptance or rejection of the conditions and stipulations of this Agreement.

(b) Beginning one year after the acceptance by the Lessee of this Agreement it shall select from year to year land suitable for the production of rubber and other agricultural products in such areas or quantities within the maximum limit of one million acres of land as may be convenient to it and in accordance with the economical and progressive development of its holdings; and said Lessee shall upon the selection or location of any tract or tracts of land notify the Government of such selection and the boundaries thereof. But the Lessee shall within five years of the final execution of this Agreement select and begin the payment of rent upon a total of not less than twenty thousand acres.

Upon written notice by the Lessee to the Government of Liberia of Lessee's intention to make a selection of land hereunder within a named territory Lessee shall have six (6) months thereafter to select land within such territory and upon the filing by Lessee with the Government within such six (6) months of written notice of the selection of land within such designated territory the title of such selected land shall vest in Lessee for the purpose named in this Agreement.

It is not intended hereby to deny Lessee the right to make selection of lands hereunder without such previous notification of intention to select within six (6) months; but if such last named notification is filed the same shall have the effect of preventing others from acquiring title within such territory during six (6) months.

(c) As and when the Lessee takes possession of lands selected by it under this Agreement and yearly thereafter in advance, Lessee shall pay to the Government rent therefor (unless otherwise paid by special agreement) at the rate of six cents (6¢) per acre per annum in any coin or currency of the United States of America which at the time of payment is legal tender for public and private debts. As long as any of the bonds issued under the terms of the Loan Agreement of 1926, as amended, shall remain outstanding and unpaid, such rent payments shall be made to The National City Bank of New York at its office in New York City in the United States of America and receipted for by the said Bank on behalf of the Government. (*)

(*) Amendment of December 28, 1939.

(d) Lessee shall pay to the Government a revenue tax equivalent to one per centum (1%) of the value of all rubber and other commercial products of its plantations shipped from Liberia, calculated upon the closing prices of such products, or products of similar grade, prevailing on the New York market on the date of departure of the carrying vessel from a Liberian port, without deduction from such price of any costs or expenses whatsoever. The tax shall be payable in any United States currency which, at the time of payment, shall be legal tender for the payment of debts. Payments shall be made semi-annually on the first day of April and the first day of October in each calendar year, and each payment shall include the tax payable upon all shipments of rubber and other products of the plantations which have been shipped from Liberia in the preceding period of six months before each of the semi-annual payment dates. The tax shall be paid to The National City Bank of New York and receipted for by said Bank on behalf of the Government. (*)

(e) Any taxes which may become payable by virtue of the laws of the Republic by any person or persons carried on the payroll of the Lessee, if the Lessee so desires, shall be collected as follows: The Lessee may come to an arrangement with the Treasury Department of the Republic of Liberia which shall regulate the method of collection and payment of such taxes. But the Lessee shall in no event be held to collect in any year the tax for a greater number of employees than the average employed during the year.

The Lessee's employees and labourers engaged in work on its plantations shall, while so employed, be exempt from the performance of personal labour upon the public roads, to which they might otherwise be subject; and furthermore, all such employees and labourers in the service of the Lessee shall be permitted to perform such service for military training as may be required of them in time of peace upon land to be provided by the Government contiguous to the plantations upon which they are respectively employed. (**)

(f) Should the rent reserved on any piece or parcel of ground selected by the Lessee be behind or unpaid on any day of payment whereon the same ought to be paid as herein provided, or if default should be made in any of the covenants hereinbefore contained on the part of Lessee to be paid, kept and performed, and if such default in the payment of rent or otherwise shall continue after six months written notice of the existence of such default served by the Government upon the Lessee, then it shall be lawful for the Government to cancel this lease as to that piece or parcel of ground, the rent for which is in default or in respect of which piece or parcel any other default exists as specified in such notice, and to reenter into and upon the said demised premises and to again repossess and enjoy the same. But if the Lessee shall, within said period of six (6) months after written notice as aforesaid, make good the default complained of in said notice, no right of cancellation shall thereafter exist because of such default.

(*) Amendment of December 28, 1939.

(**) Amendment of November 10, 1937.

The notice required by this paragraph to be served on the Lessee shall be delivered to the representative of the Lessee in the Republic of Liberia and a duplicate thereof shall be simultaneously sent by registered mail to the President of the Lessee at its head office in the City of Akron, State of Ohio, United States of America. The Lessee shall promptly notify the Government of any change in the location of its head office and thereafter any such notice shall be addressed accordingly.

ARTICLE IV

It is further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) The Lessee will not import unskilled foreign labor for the carrying out of any operation or development undertaken by virtue of this or any other grant except in the event the local labour supply should prove inadequate to the Lessee's needs. In the event that the local labour supply should prove inadequate as aforesaid Lessee undertakes to import only such foreign unskilled labour as shall be acceptable to the Government of Liberia. It is understood and agreed that Lessee shall not have in its employ in Liberia more than 1500 white employees at any one time.

(b) Should the operations of the Lessee under this Agreement cease for a period of three consecutive years then all and singular of the rights of the Lessee hereunder shall become extinguished and void and this Agreement shall become of no effect but such cancellation of this Agreement shall not affect any rights granted by the Government to the Lessee under any other Agreement.

(c) The rights by this Agreement granted to the Lessee shall not be sold, transferred or otherwise assigned by the Lessee to any person firm, group or trust without the written consent thereof of the Liberian Government previously had and obtained.

(d) The Government reserves the right to construct roads, highways, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines and other lines of communication through any and all plantations owned and operated by Lessee; but the Government shall pay to Lessee all damage which will be caused to Lessee's property by the construction and operation of such roads or other lines of communication; such damage to be ascertained in accordance with the General law of the Republic of Liberia.

(e) The Lessee shall have the right to develop for its own use such natural water power and hydroelectric power as may be capable of development upon any of the tracts of land selected by the Lessee under this Agreement and Lessee shall have the right to construct and maintain power lines over any Government lands in order to convey power so developed from one tract of land selected by Lessee to any other tract.

(f) Tribal reserves of lands set aside for the communal use of any tribe within the Republic of Liberia are excluded from the operation of this Agreement. Should any question arise as to the limits and extent of such reserves such question shall be finally determined by the Secretary of Interior of Liberia on a reference by the Lessee.

(g) Railroads and canals constructed and established by Lessee outside the confines of the Lessee's tracts selected hereunder shall during the life of this Agreement be exempted from all taxation so long as they be used only for the purposes of the operations of Lessee upon lands held under this Agreement. In the event that such lines of communication shall be used by Lessee for general commercial purposes to serve others for hire then while so used they shall be subject to taxation under the general laws of Liberia. (*)

(h) It is further agreed that at the expiration of the term of this lease hereinabove provided or of any extension thereof or upon the cancellation of this Agreement at any earlier time such buildings and improvements erected by the Lessee upon the land selected hereunder as shall not have been removed before the expiration or cancellation of the lease shall become the property of the Government of Liberia without charge or condition.

(i) It is further agreed that if hereafter the Government shall grant to any other person, firm or corporation any rights in connection with the production of rubber in Liberia upon more favorable terms and conditions in any respect than those granted in this Agreement such more favorable terms and conditions shall inure to the benefit of the Lessee herein the same as if such more favorable terms and conditions were incorporated herein.

(j) It is further agreed that the Lessee shall use its best efforts to secure either from the Government of the United States or with the approval of the Secretary of State of the United States from some other person or persons a loan of not less than five million dollars to establish a credit for public developments in the Republic of Liberia to the end that the credit may be a revolving credit set up through reserves so as to meet the future requirement of funds for such developments. Such loan shall be upon terms and conditions to be negotiated by a Commission appointed by the President of Liberia who shall proceed promptly to the United States for this purpose. It is understood that such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon shall be subject to the approval of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia.

(k) Wherever in this Agreement the Government grants to the Lessee the right to build and operate a railroad or to use the highways and waterways, it is understood that the Lessee is not seeking and is not granted public utility or common carrier privileges and that the same are not intended to be conveyed to it.

(l) The Lessee shall be entitled to establish, maintain and operate an aerial transportation system and necessary landing facilities therefor upon the lands selected and held under this Agreement and beyond the confines thereof; provided, however, that in the event that Lessee shall make use of Government land for the establishment of landing fields rent shall be paid therefor in accordance with paragraph (c) of Article III hereof. In the event that such lines of aerial transportation shall be used by Lessee for general commercial purposes to serve others for hire, then while so used they shall be subject to taxation under the general laws of Liberia. (**)

(*) Amendment of March 20, 1935.

(**) Amendment of March 20, 1935.

(m) During the life of this Agreement the Lessee shall at all times have access to the port and harbour facilities at Monrovia, or in any other district of the Republic where it may be carrying on operations, upon not less favourable terms than is accorded others under existing treaties and the laws of the Republic of Liberia. It shall be privileged to lease available lands in all ports of entry from the Government upon favourable terms.

(n) All or any questions in dispute arising out of this Agreement between the Government and the Lessee which cannot be harmonized or adjusted by the Lessee and the Government shall be referred to the Liberian Supreme Court or any one of the Justices thereof for arbitration on application of either party; and said Court shall make appointment of three arbitrators (one of whom shall be nominated for such purpose to said Court by the President of Liberia, and one of whom shall be nominated for such purpose to said Court by the representative of the Lessee in charge of Lessee's affairs in the Republic of Liberia, the third arbitrator being the Court's selection without nomination) to hear and determine such dispute within five days after application being filed, upon first being satisfied of the service of notice of such application at least five days previous to the filing of the application by (a) by delivery of a copy of the application to the Attorney General of Liberia, or, in his absence, to the officer in charge of his office when said application is made by the Lessee, and (b) by delivery of a copy of the application to the representative of the Lessee in charge of Lessee's affairs in the Republic of Liberia and (c) by mailing a duplicate thereof on the same date by registered mail to the President of the Lessee at its head office in the City of Akron, State of Ohio, United States of America, when said application is made by the Government;

That the arbitrators so appointed as aforesaid shall render their decision of the question or questions in dispute in writing and file same with the Clerk of the Supreme Court, together with copy of testimony taken and statement of proceedings had within fifteen days after their appointment as aforesaid. Unless an application for further arbitration, as hereinafter provided, be made by either party within a period of four months after said decision is given, said decision shall be a definitive settlement of the question or questions in dispute and shall be binding upon both parties, their Agents or Assigns, and the Government of Liberia agrees to make said decision operative. Should, however, either party feel aggrieved at the decision of the Arbitrators then the Government agrees to arrange with the United States Department of State for a further arbitration of the question or questions submitted by either or both parties; provided, however, that in the case of such further arbitration each party shall bear its own respective costs; and provided further that the procedure for such further arbitration shall be as follows:

Written notice of desire for further arbitration shall be given by either party to the other within four months after the written decision of the arbitrators in the first instance has been filed with the Clerk of the Supreme Court; thereupon both parties shall prepare and file with the Clerk of the Supreme Court within sixty days after service of the notice written statements of the questions in dispute, and these statements together with a copy of

the testimony and proceedings of the arbitrators together with a copy of their decision, shall be certified by the Clerk of the Supreme Court and delivered within five days after receipt of said papers in his office to the Secretary of State of Liberia who will thereupon promptly arrange with the United States Department of State for further arbitration of the questions in dispute, the decision of which arbitration shall be final and binding upon both parties to this Agreement.

It is understood and agreed that the final decision shall become effective thirty days after such final decision has been rendered and shall not be retroactive. It is also understood and agreed that during the period of arbitration, the Lessee shall be permitted by the Government to carry on without interference, all operations under this Agreement, including the operations involved in the subject matter of dispute, which the Lessee had undertaken, and, being undertaken, had not been objected to by the Government prior to the dispute arising. It is understood, however, that the fact there was no objection on the part of the Government shall not prejudice its rights in the subject matter of dispute.

It is hereby expressly understood and agreed that the arbitration procedure provided for herein does not apply to civil or criminal proceedings to be brought by or against employees of the Lessee in Liberia.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties
hereto have hereunto set their
hands and seals the day and
year first above written.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA

WITNESS

(Signed) Edwin Barclay
SECRETARY OF STATE

FIRESTONE PLANTATIONS COMPANY

(Signed)
Monroe Phelps

(Signed) Harvey S. Firestone, Pres.
By

PRESIDENT

Attest:

Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., (Signed)
SECRETARY

ANNEX 8

SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION OF THE 1926 PLANTING AGREEMENT WITH FIRESTONE 1974 - 1975 - 1976.

Items for Review	Provisions of the 1926 Planting Agreement as amended through 1965, and actual situation, 1974.	Change proposed by the Government of Liberia March 1974.	Firestone's stand-point June 1974 (a)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
CONCESSION RIGHTS, Area and Term.			
Concession rights			
Activities permitted.	"Any operations, including agriculture and mining, with royalty of not more than 10% of value of precious metals and stones."	Limit activities to present agricultural pursuits.	"We do not feel such a restriction is desirable." **
Concession area	"One million acres." Operational area said to be 181,000 acres, with option areas in Harbel, Greenville and Harper areas.	Limit it to the 181,000 acres now actually used and delete 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of Art. III (b).	"Firestone should retain its current option rights." ###
Utilization of concession area to the exclusion of third parties	"Firestone's use is exclusive of others."	Firestone's use and occupancy for agricultural purposes shall not be to the exclusion of other uses which are not incompatible or damaging.	"Firestone's rights of use and occupancy are reasonable and necessary and should not be changed." **
Use of GoL lands outside concession area.	Firestone has the right to use "any Government land not already devoted to some other incompatible use."	This right is too broad and should be deleted.	"This proposed change is not desirable." *

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
4. Possible vestigial rights to select additional areas.	Unless the second paragraph of Art. III(b) is deleted by adopting change B-1 above, Firestone has unexercised rights, and the notification by Firestone of its selection would have the effect of preventing others from acquiring rights within such territory for six months after notification.	Eliminate Firestone's right to exercise options over additional land. Modify six-month notice provision if some rights were to remain.	"We believe our present option rights should remain unchanged and that the six-month period is reasonable." ###
C. <u>Term of the concession</u>	90 years beginning October 2, 1935, Shorten period if possible.		
(II) FISCAL PROVISIONS			
A. <u>Income Tax</u>			
1. On profits of concessionaire.	(a) Income tax of general application, with maximum rate of 45%. No tax on distribution of profits to U.S. parent.	Increase rate of tax to 50%; eliminate sliding income tax scale; and continue no tax on dividends. The 50% rate would not be of general application in Liberia.	"We would agree to continue to pay income tax according to the laws of general application in Liberia, up to the maximum percentage applicable to Firestone under the United States income tax laws." ###
	(b) Agreement unclear as to taxation of income other than from plantations operations.	Make income tax applicable to all net income and revise definition of "net income".	"We do not agree with the proposed change." 0

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(c) Rental payments to U.S. parent company have been deducted.	(A) Firestone-Ohio should transfer title to all plantation fixed assets including trees to Firestone-Liberia. (B) The basis for these assets, for Liberian tax purposes, should be their values as depreciated for U.S. tax purposes. (C) After transfer, depreciation for Liberian tax purposes would not be taken at any greater rate than would have been paid as rent to Firestone-Ohio.	"Location of assets is not part of the Agreement now and we do not feel this should be included." **(A) *** (B) 6 (C)	
(d) Arguable that an interest deduction would not be allowed for interest paid to U.S. parent, but otherwise there are no limitations.	Firestone-Liberia should be prohibited from incurring any additional debt except in connection with a major future expansion and then only with the approval of the GoL.	"We do not believe such a restriction is necessary or desirable." 6	
(e) Selling price of rubber is determined according to a formula.	The selling price for Firestone-Liberia's rubber should be determined by a formula included in the Agreement and revised to equate top grades of rubber exported by Firestone with grades internationally quoted.	"We do not feel it desirable to include a "selling price formula" in the Agreement."	

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2. Payments to third parties.			Thereafter, Firestone-Ohio should pay for all purchases at this price, without deduction for Firestone-Ohio's handling charges.	
(a) Employees	(a) Subject to property taxes, customs duties and income taxes; exempt from all other taxes.	Should be made subject to all laws of general application.	"We have no objection to this so long as there is adequate protection in the Agreement to assure non-discriminatory treatment." *	
(b) Creditors, contractors, etc.	(b) Payments to U.S. affiliates appear to be exempt; payments to others appear to be subject to tax.	Except for dividends, all payments to third parties should be made subject to laws of general application.	"We would like to have additional clarification of this proposal before we respond." *	
B. <u>Other fees, charges, etc.</u>				
1. Regulatory fees	Vehicles in excess of 150 are subject to motor vehicle license taxes; otherwise exempt from all other fees and taxes.	Should be made subject to all regulatory taxes.	"Firestone would be willing to eliminate the specific exemption for 150 vehicles provided that the Agreement is amended to state clearly	

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2. Import duties	Exemption on "importation of substances for use directly or indirectly, by the Lessee upon its leased lands in the operation and development thereof..."	All imports to be made subject to generally applicable duties.	"Firestone would agree to pay duties according to the laws of general application or \$ 100,000 per year, whichever would be the lesser amount." ***
3. Consular fees	Subject to regular fees.	Retain regular fees.	"We are already paying such fees and will continue to do so." *
4. Wharfage dues and other user taxes	Exempt.	Should be made subject to harbour duties, and other normal user charges payable to the various agencies.	"Although exempt under the present Agreement, Firestone has already been required to pay harbor duties under protest. Upon refund of such amount we would consider modification of the Agreement. Other user taxes must be identified and dealt with individually." **(Footnote B).
5. Land occupancy rentals:			
a. Inside concession area	6 cents per acre per year	50 ¢ per acre per year whether or not the leased land is within or without a municipality.	"We do not feel any increase in rental is presently justified." ***
b. Outside concession area (rights of way, etc.)	6 ¢ per acre per year outside, and 50 ¢ per acre per year inside municipalities, since 1939.	50 ¢ per acre per year.	"We do not feel this change is necessary." ###

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
6. Generally applicable real estate rental taxes	Article II(e), which covers communications right-of-way, does not provide for any annual occupancy rental.		
	Exempt.	Realty lease taxes should apply to any buildings constructed by Firestone which now may be rented to third parties.	No reaction. ***
7. Timber cutting fees (stumpage tax)	Free of charges if not for sale or for export; and 2 ¢ cu/f if sold.	Stumpage tax of general application if sold or exported.	No reaction. **
8. Tax exemptions to radio communication Lessee.	Same exemptions as apply to	Should be made subject to laws of General application.	No reaction. ***
9. <u>Royalties.</u>	Subject to 1½% ad valorem tax on export of rubber and other commercial products based on New York closing price on day shipment. However, this tax is offset against income tax due.	Firestone should pay a 10% royalty based on the value of all rubber and other commercial products exported by Firestone-Liberia and paid in addition to any income tax.	"The 'royalty concept' should not be applicable to an agricultural operation such as ours and we must respectfully reject the proposal." 6
III EMPLOYEES, WAGES, AND WORKING CONDITIONS.			
A. Wages, benefits and working conditions	Not in excess of those made available by other employers for comparable work in Liberia and other West African tropical countries.	The minimum wages and conditions of employment of Firestone's employees shall be those required by the labour laws of general application in Liberia.	"We have no objection to the Gol's proposal so long as the Agreement is clear that the Firestone employees cannot be the subject of discrimination." *

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
B. Purchase of rubber from independent Liberian producers	Not mentioned.		Firestone should be obligated to purchase rubber from Liberian growers and the price formula for such purchase should be spelled out in the Agreement.	"We believe it is neither necessary nor reasonable to include such provisions in the Agreement." 6
C. Rights of Gol to purchase Concessionaire's rubber	Not mentioned.		Include obligation to sell rubber to Gol for any purpose, subject to Firestone's existing supply contracts with non-Firestone purchasers.	"We believe it is neither necessary nor reasonable to include such provisions in the Agreement." ***
D. Obligation to supply third party processors and/or manufacturers in Liberia	Not mentioned.		Include obligation to supply rubber to processors and/or manufacturers in Liberia, subject to Firestone's existing supply contracts with non-Firestone purchasers.	"We believe it neither necessary nor reasonable to include such provisions in the Agreement." ***
E. Rubber processing and/or manufacturing plants in Liberia	Not mentioned.		Require Firestone to discuss with the Gol in good faith the establishment or participation in the establishment of a rubber manufacturing industry in Liberia.	"We feel such a provision is unnecessary in the Planning Agreement." 6
F. CIF Shipping	Not mentioned.		The Gol should be permitted immediately to participate in shipping Firestone's exports to the maximum of the Gol's shipping capacity, up to 100 per cent of all shipping.	"This provision should not be in the Agreement." ###

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
B. Ratio of Liberian employees to non-employees	Up to 1,500 white employees permitted.	Change "white" to "foreign". More important, require affirmative program of training, and constant upgrading of qualified Liberian staff.	"We agree to the change of the word "white" to "foreign", but do not feel it is either appropriate necessary or appropriate to include in the Agreement any reference to an affirmative Liberian upgrading program." *
C. Obligatory public road work	Employees are exempt.	Eliminate.	No reaction. *
D. Military training	Peacetime military training of employees shall be on land furnished by GoL contiguous to Firestone Plantations.	Eliminate.	No reaction. *
E. Medical and educational facilities	Not mentioned in concession agreement.	Require continuation of medical and primary school facilities in keeping with work force.	"Neither our medical facilities nor school facilities are currently covered in the Agreement and we do not believe it desirable that they should be in the future". *
IV "LIBERIANIZATION" (OTHER THAN WITH RESPECT TO EMPLOYEES).			
A. Preference to be given to Liberian goods and services	Not mentioned.	Change Agreement to provide that preference will be given to Liberian suppliers of goods and services.	"We do not believe such a provision is necessary." *

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
INFRASTRUCTURE AND ANCILLARY SERVICES			
A. <u>Infrastructure.</u>			
1. Within concession lands	Exclusive right to construct highways, railways and water ways.	Eliminate "exclusive", and require the actual permis- sion of appropriate agen- cies of GoL for such con- struction.	"We feel this change is unnecessary." **
2. Outside concession lands	Right (but not exclusive) to construct roads, waterways, power lines, pipe lines and railways, after "consultation" with the GoL.	Provide that any land or rights-of-way required for such works shall be acqui- red under direct arrange- ments with the owners or failing that, under gene- rally applicable Liberian Laws of eminent domain. Rental for Government lands used for these purposes should be 50 ¢ per acre per year.	"We believe this change is unnecessary." *
B. <u>Communications faci- lities (i.e. tele- phone, telegraph and radio systems).</u>	Firestone can use Government lands for stations, build- ings, right-of-way; yearly rental 6 ¢ per acre unless such land is situated within the boundaries of organized municipalities (see above: II, B-5 (b)).		"We believe the current rental rates are adequate." ##
C. <u>Reversion of facili- ties to GoL at expi- ration of concession.</u>			
1. Facilities within the concession area	All buildings and improve- ments situated on concession lands "as shall not have been removed before expira- tion or cancellation of the lease" shall become property of the GoL.	Require Firestone to turn over all facilities, intact and operable, to the GoL, without charge.	"We believe the current Agreement provisions are fair and adequate." ##

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2. Infrastructure, either outside or inside concession area	No provision for reversion to the Gol of infrastructure items, other than highways and roadways.	Provide that all infrastructure improvements be left in working order, and revert, without cost, to the Gol.	"This is adequately covered by the present Agreement." ##	
VI TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL MEASURES				
A. <u>Maximum efficient production and technical practices.</u>	Not mentioned.	Require Firestone to apply and operate under the best rubber production, processing and marketing practices in the world.	"We do not believe that it is appropriate to include such provisions in the Agreement." *	
B. <u>Conservation</u>				
1. Natural resources	Not mentioned.	Amend the Agreement to provide generally for environmental protection and conservation.	"We believe it is unnecessary to include such a provision in the Agreement but will consider any proposed language the Gol desires to include." *	
2. Human resources	Not mentioned	Include an expression of policy regarding the establishment and encouragement of economical viable communities.	"We believe it is unnecessary to include such a provision in the Agreement." *	
C. <u>Technical Committee.</u>	Not mentioned	Provide for such a committee.	"We believe it is unnecessary to include such a provision in the Agreement." *	
VII GENERAL FINANCIAL AND LEGAL MATTERS				
A. <u>Subsidiaries and affiliates.</u>	1. Plantations operations.	All assets of Firestone-Ohio are to be conveyed to Firestone-Liberia.	"See response to II A.1 (c)." ***	

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provisions with respect of a \$ 5 million loan. • <u>Termination and cancellation.</u> • Termination by Firestone 	<p>The Agreement still contains these provisions.</p>	<p>Arbitration should be limited to only those points which are purely contractual and/or at variance with Liberian laws and regulations of general application, and Liberian law should be followed in arbitration proceedings.</p>	<p>"We agree to this deletion." *</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cancellation by the GOL 	<p>Presumably Firestone can abandon, but no provision to this effect was made.</p>	<p>If it is considered desirable to express the right of Firestone to abandon, a lengthy prior notice period should be stipulated.</p>	<p>"We believe this change is unnecessary, but are willing to consider any language the GOL may propose." *</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic Termination 	<p>GOL has a "parcel-by-parcel" right to terminate, intended to cover non-payment of rentals. Such cancellation is only available after a 6 months warning period.</p> <p>The concession may terminate if "operations cease" during a period of three consecutive years.</p>	<p>There should be added a right to cancel the entire concession in event of uncured serious defaults under the Agreement or under Liberian not being amended Law.</p> <p>Shorten the three-year "non-operation term", and define more adequately the term "non-operation".</p>	<p>"The current provision is satisfactory but we will review any proposed language change the GOL may have." #</p>

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

2. Subsidiaries, affiliates and assignees have rights construct, operate and maintain communication systems for their use and to charge their own rates to the general public. They also enjoy tax exemptions.

These provisions should be deleted. If applicable, separate agreements with P.U. A. should be made which would set the rates. The taxability of any such subsidiary or affiliate's profits to be subject to laws of general application.

"We agree that U.S.L.R.^c should no longer be subject to any special privileges under the Agreement; however, telephone or other communication systems established by Firestone to serve the internal needs of the Plantations should not be subject to GoL control."*

B. Concessionaire's "title" to land.

Government warrants "title" to Firestone of all land selected by the latter and on which rentals are paid, and the GoL will "defend and protect" such title.

"We agree to the proposed change." *

C. "Most favoured nations" clause.

The Agreement contains such a provision in favour of Firestone, in the event GoL should grant others "rights in connection with the production of rubber in Liberia" on more favourable terms than the Firestone Concession.

(a) Delete, and in its place (b) insert a most favoured nations clause in favour of the GoL, requiring Firestone to give Liberia a no less favourable treatment than that given in other countries in which it has rubber concessions.

"We believe elimination of the present clause from the Agreement is undesirable: the proposal in (b) is unworkable and should not be included in the Agreement." ** (a); 6(b)

D. Arbitration.

Arbitration by a team of three arbitrators, and, eventually, by the U.S. Department of State.

The entire clause should be amended to adopt, among other changes, the regimen of the International Center for Settlement of Disputes.

"We see no reason for changing the arbitration clause, but are willing during these negotiations to review any alternative language or procedure the GoL wishes to suggest." *

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
G. Miscellaneous <u>legal points.</u>			
1. Notices	Several different notice provisions scattered through the Agreement, depending on the purpose of the notice.	Each party should have a single address in Liberia for all notices and all notice provisions should appear in one section.	"We agree to both of these proposals." * (G-1 and G-2)
2. The National City Bank, agent for collections	The First National City Bank is named as agent for receiving the tax on rubber and also the rental on lands within the concession area.	Delete.	see above *
3. Right to lease land at port areas; and of "access" to port and harbour facilities	(a) Firestone has the right to lease available port lands "upon favourable terms". (b) Firestone also is given access to port and harbour facilities on terms not less favourable than those accorded to others under treaties and the laws of Liberia	Delete. Delete this reference to treaties and replace the "most favoured nations" approach by reference to "prevailing laws and regulations of general application".	"We do not agree to delete entirely, but would consider deletion of the ambiguous term "favourable terms" and replace with language assuring that our lease terms would be no less favourable than others." ** "We feel the proposed change is undesirable." #

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
4. Contract to be interpreted and governed by the jurisprudence of Liberia, and Liberian laws and regulations of general application.	Not mentioned.		Such stipulation to be added.	"We consider the proposed change to be unnecessary."*
5. Jurisdiction of Liberian Courts	Not mentioned.		Excepting matters that under the Agreement are to be arbitrated, all disputes on other matters to be subject to the general jurisdiction of the Liberian Courts.	"We believe such a provision is unnecessary." *
6. Periodic Review	Not mentioned.		Include such a provision. This would not require agreement on any terms, merely an obligation to meet.	"We do not feel such a provision is necessary." #
7. Corporate structure and Management:				
a. Concessionaire to be incorporated under Liberian law.	Not mentioned.		Require all assets to be transferred to Firestone-Liberia.	"As noted earlier, we do not believe that this should be part of the Agreement." **
b. Principal offices and effective management to be maintained in Liberia	Not mentioned.		To be included.	"We believe it is unnecessary to include this as part of the Agreement." @

Cont'd SUMMARY TABLE OF RENEGOTIATION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
c. Availability of technical and financial records in Liberia	Not mentioned.	To be included.	"Most of the records are now in Liberia, and we do not believe it necessary to include such a provision in the Agreement." ##
d. Independent audit	Not mentioned.	To be included.	"This proposal is unnecessary." 6
e. Reports required by law	Not mentioned.	Include a provision that certain unspecified reports should be required, or that Firestone should be required to file all reports required by law.	"With respect to any specific report, we cannot respond until its nature is known; with respect to these reports required by law, there needs to be nothing in the Agreement." ##
f. Inspection by Government	Not mentioned.	To be included.	"The proposal is too ambiguous; we would need to know the nature of the inspection and its relationship to some area of the Agreement before we could adequately respond." ##

Author's research based on :

Sources :

- (A) Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia;
- (B) Letter of Mr. Arthur C. Derr, Vice-President of Firestone-International, to Stephen A. Tolbert, Minister of Finance, dated June 30, 1974, Annex A, "Response of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Company to Government of Liberia Proposals of March 6, 1974."

- (a) The letter of June 30, 1974 was entirely withdrawn in July 1974 upon request of the Government of Liberia.
- (b) In the early 1970's the Firestone company paid under protest - through Farrell Lines - annually about \$ 100,000 to the National Port Authority, among others for wharfage dues, and the Gol's position is here clearly contradicting.
- (c) The United States-Liberia Radio Corporation, a wholly owned Firestone subsidiary.

* Government proposal accepted without reservations after first round of negotiations, July 15 - 19, 1974.

** Government proposal accepted by June 1975.

*** Government proposal accepted by August 1976.

Compromise reached (July 1974)

Compromise reached (June 1975)

Compromise reached (August 1976)

Ø Not accepted by Firestone(1976) and/or withdrawn by Gol.

ANNEX 2

A COMPARISON OF FOUR GOLD AND/OR DIAMOND MINING CONCESSION AGREEMENTS¹

LIBERIAN GOLD AND DIAMOND CORP.²

AFRICAN MINING PARTNERS

GLOBEX MINERALS (LIBERIA) INC.

ITEM

I. GENERAL

1. Date May 7, 1970 December 23, 1972 August 1, 1973 September 20, 1976
2. Term 25 years (extension with 15 years possible including a 2-year exploration period (extendable)) 25 years (extendable) including a 3-year exploration period (also extendable) 40 years including a 3-year exploration period (extendable)
3. Concession Area All land within a 10-mile radius of the town of Gbokonjehdeh (Grand Gedeh County), appr. 188,000 acres 16,400 acres near the Lofa river in Lofa and Grand Gedeh Counties 50 square miles in each of the counties of Lofa, Grand Cape Mount, Sinoe, Grand Gedeh and Maryland (appr. 155,000 acres) 100 square miles in each of the nine counties (appr. 576,000 acres)

II. RIGHTS OF CONCESSIONAIRE

1. Exclusive Rights To explore for gold, other precious stones, and minerals, and to mine gold diamonds and associated minerals To explore for and to produce gold To explore for and to produce gold, diamonds, and uranium
2. Use of public lands
 - a) Inside concession area Exclusive rights Limited to mining and related activities
 - b) Outside concession area (Not exclusive); only after GoI approval and after determination of rental Additional area may be acquired for the purpose of Accessory Works & Installations Additional area needed for operations may be acquired (free of charge) Always allowed within the concession area
3. Use of private lands Always allowed within and outside the concession area Always allowed within the concession area
4. Rights
 - (a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations: (b) To use the water, gravel, sand, clay or stone within the concession area or within 3 miles from its boundaries (after GoI approval); (c) to use timber within the public domain within the concession area
 - (a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations: (b) To use the water, gravel, sand, clay, stone, and timber within the Production Area (free of charge)
 - (a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations: (b) To use the water, gravel, sand, clay, stone, and timber within the Production Area (free of charge)
5. Limitation of rights/Protection of rights of others than concessionaire No lease, right-of-way, or easement shall be granted if it substantially interferes with operations under another previously granted concession agreement and nothing shall permit interference with rights held by any tribe, village or individual(s) - through law or custom Citizens' right of water - by right or through custom - by right or through custom with protected interference with their right to enjoy by anyone under any agreement with the GoI not allowed without the latter's consent
6. Duty-free privileges Limited 10-year unlimited exemption Limited Limited

ITEM	NATIONAL GOLD AND DIAMOND CO.	GLOBEX MINERALS (LIBERIA) INC.	AFRICAN MINING PARTNERS	LIBERIAN GOLD AND DIAMOND CORP. ²
7. Income Tax Holiday	Not granted	Not granted	Not granted	Not granted
8. "Most favoured company"-clause	Not included	Included	Only with respect to royalties on Associated Minerals. Expressly denied in respect of GOL right to grant third parties more favourable tax treatment	Only with respect to royalties on Associated Minerals. Expressly denied in respect of GOL right to grant third parties more favourable tax treatment
III. FISCAL PROVISIONS				
1. Rental	\$ 5,000.00 during exploration period; \$ 1.00 per acre per year in concession area thereafter	\$ 0.10 per acre per year in exploration area and \$ 1.00 per acre per year in exploration area	\$ 0.25 per acre per year in the Production Area excluding the Production Lots on which \$ 1.00 rental per acre per year is due	\$ 0.10 per acre per year in the Exploration Area and \$ 1.00 per acre per year for Production Lots
2. Taxes	50% income tax liability	50% income tax liability	50% income tax liability	50% income tax liability
3. Import duties	Exempted if competitive Liberian products are not available	Exempted for 10 years	7-year exemption if competitive Liberian products are not available and/or for durable capital goods	5-year exemption if competitive Liberian products are not available and/or for durable capital goods
4. Export duties	Not provided for	Subject to the tax laws of general applicability	7-year exemption with respect to gold	Exempted with respect to gold and diamonds
5. Excise taxes	Not provided for	Provides for the payment of an excise tax on output	7-year exemption with respect to fuel and fuel oils	5-year exemption with respect to fuel and fuel oils
6. Royalties	Not provided for	Not provided for	All exemption periods are renewable	
7. Pricing Arrangement	Vague with respect to gold (the prevailing New York market prices); nothing included with respect to other products	Not provided for	In general: the mean between the opening and closing prices of gold on the London gold market for that date or sale, adjusted to reflect transportation and insurance costs.	Only explicitly mentioned in case of purchases of minerals by the GOL.
IV. OTHER OBLIGATIONS				
A. Financial				
1. Minimum Expenditures	Obligation to spend not less than \$ 100,000.00 within the first two years of operations	Not provided for	Obligation to spend not less than \$ 0.5 million within first three years of operations; 15% of which during the first year, 60% during the first two years	Obligation to spend not less than \$ 1 million within first three years of operations; 75% of which within first two years
2. Debt/Equity Ratio	Not provided for	3 : 1 still allowed	3 : 1 still allowed	3 : 1 still allowed
B. Administrative				
1. Availability of records in Liberia	Included	Included	Included	Included
2. Inspection by GOL	Included	Included	Included	Included
3. Independent Audit	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included	Included

ANNEX 9 (continued)

ITEM

NATIONAL GOLD AND DIAMOND CO., GLOBEX MINERALS (LIBERIA) INC.

4. Reporting by Concessionaire

Obligation to submit regularly detailed reports on technical affairs and actual or envisaged investments

AFRICAN MINING PARTNERS

Obligation to submit regularly all reports which GoL or the law may require

LIBERIAN GOLD AND DIAMOND CORP.

Obligation to submit regularly all reports which GoL or the law may require

C. Social

1. Medical care

Obligation to maintain a dispensary headed by a medical doctor and to furnish free medical treatment to employees whenever more than 150 workers are employed in any one region

Obligation to provide free medical treatment to employees, to some local government officials, and to their families, and to provide a dispensary headed by a resident medical doctor if more than 150 persons are employed at any permanent work site

Obligation to provide free medical treatment to employees, to some local government officials, and to their families, and to provide a dispensary headed by a resident medical doctor if more than 150 persons are employed at any permanent work site

2. Education

Obligation to provide facilities for education of children of employees as required by the Labor Practices Law of Liberia

Obligation to provide free primary and secondary education for children of employees and of some local government officials

Obligation to provide free primary and secondary education for children of employees and of some local government officials

3. Conservation of human and natural resources

Not provided for

Obligation to provide for economically and socially viable centers of population, and for protection of population, and for protection from air-, water-, and/or land-pollution, contamination or any damage

Obligation to provide for economically and socially viable centers of population, and for protection from air-, water-, and/or land-pollution, contamination or any damage

D. Librarianization

1. Employment of Liberians

Realize 50% Librarianization of staff personnel within 10 years; no provision forbidding the importation of unskilled labour

Realize 60% Librarianization of staff personnel within 5 years after the start of commercial production, 10 years later 95%; obligation not to import unskilled labour

Realize 60% Librarianization of staff personnel within 5 years after the start of commercial production, 10 years later 95%; obligation not to import unskilled labour

2. Training of Liberians

Obligation to provide for training of Liberians in order to realize Librarianization of staff personnel

Obligation to train Liberians for staff positions and for skilled labour

Obligation to train Liberians for staff positions and for skilled labour

3. Librarian participation in capital

Obligation to offer 20% of the voting common stock to Liberians during one year

Not provided for

Obligation to offer of each issue of voting shares 25% to Liberians (during 4 years and 4 months)

4. Preference to be given to Liberian goods and services

If competitive Librarian products and services (excluding plant design and engineering) are available they have priority

Use the services and materials produced by (majority-) Librarian-owned companies, if competitive

Use the services and materials produced by (majority-) Librarian-owned companies, if competitive

5. Right of GoL to purchase Concessionaire's output

Not provided for

GoL has the right to purchase (all of) the company's products

GoL has the right to purchase (all of) the company's products

ANNEX 2 (continued)

ITEM	NATIONAL GOLD AND DIAMOND CO.	GLOBEX MINERALS/LIBERIA) INC.	AFRICAN MINING PARTNERS	LIBERIAN GOLD AND DIAMOND CORP.
6. Obligation to supply third party process-ore and/or manufacturers in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for	Not provided for	Not provided for
7. Processing/Manufacturing plants in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for	Limited to the smelting, refining and assaying of the gold produced	Limited to the smelting, refining and assaying of the gold produced
V. TRANSFER OR TERMINATION				
1. Assignment	Subject to GOL approval	Subject to GOL approval	Subject to GOL approval	Subject to GOL approval
2. Termination	(a) Concessionaire may terminate the agreement at any time; (b) Weak position of the GOL to terminate the agreement	Not provided for	Both parties have possibilities to terminate the agreement	Both parties have possibilities to terminate the agreement
3. GOL rights after termination	Non-movable assets revert to GOL	Not provided for	Non-movable assets revert to GOL; GOL has an option to buy movable assets	Non-movable assets revert to GOL; GOL has an option to buy movable assets
VI. MISCELLANEOUS				
1. Definition of words and terms	Included	Not provided for	Included	Included
2. Periodic review	Not provided for	Not provided for	Every seven years after the start of commercial production	Every four years after the start of commercial production
3. Currency	Not provided for	Not provided for	The operator shall have the right to obtain freely convertible currencies for remittance abroad of amounts necessary; in accordance with applicable laws and regulations	The operator shall have the right to obtain freely convertible currencies for remittance abroad of amounts necessary; in accordance with applicable laws and regulations
4. Arbitration	Proceedings will be held in conformity with the rules of the I.C.S.I.D. ³ (Arbitration Commission of 3 members)	Proceedings will be held in conformity with the rules of the I.C.S.I.D. (Arbitration Commission of 3 members)	A tribunal of 3 members (under the jurisdiction of the I.C.S.I.D.) shall apply the laws and jurisdiction of Liberia	A tribunal of 3 members (under the jurisdiction of the I.C.S.I.D.) shall apply the laws and jurisdiction of Liberia

Footnotes: {1} All four mining companies represent U.S. interests
 {2} The name of the company was changed into the "Liberian, Gold, Diamond and Uranium Corporation" in 1977.
 {3} The International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes.

Sources: 1. "Gold Concession Agreement Between The Government of Liberia and Lawrence L. Trumbull", dated May 7, 1970, Monrovia, Liberia.

Sources: 2. "Diamond Mining Concession Agreement Between The Government of The Republic of Liberia and Globex Minerals, Inc. of California, U.S.A.", dated December 23, 1977.
 3. "Gold Mining Concession Agreement Between the Government of The Republic of Liberia and African Mining Partners", dated August 1, 1973.
 4. "An Act Approving The Mining Concession Agreement Entered Into By And Between The Government of The Republic of Liberia And Libe-rian Gold And Mining Corporation", approved October 12, 1976, Monrovia, Liberia.

ANNEX 10

The "Columbia Southern Chemical Corporation" concession agreement (1956)
and the "Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company" mining concession
agreement (1973)

ITEM	COLUMBIA SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION	LIBERIAN BEACH SANDS EXPLOITATION COMPANY
I. GENERAL		
1. Date	June 27, 1956	August 21, 1973
2. Source of capital	U.S.A.	The Netherlands
3. Term	60 years	25 years with option for another 15 years on terms and conditions as parties may agree
4. Exploration Period	6 years (extensible)	2 years (extension with 2 years possible)
5. Exploration Area	Anywhere within the country	220 square miles in Maryland County and in Sinoe County (appr. 124,000 acres)
6. Mining Area	A 10 miles wide coastal strip of land between the Mano and Cavalla rivers + the territorial zone off the coast + 100,000 acres inland	25% of the Exploration Area
II. RIGHTS OF CONCESSIONAIRE		
1. Exclusive Rights	To explore for and mine titanium ores ¹ , and monazite ores ² , and to mine columbite ores ³ besides the non-exclusive right to explore for columbite ores	To explore for and produce heavy mineral deposits resp. heavy mineral products ⁴
2. Use of public lands	Both inside and outside concession area always allowed if in respect of exploratory activities or mining operations	GoL shall make available such additional areas as the company may reasonably request
3. Use of private lands	Allowed if in respect of exploratory activities or mining operations and if approved by the Secretary of the Treasury	The GoL shall not unreasonably deny the company its right of eminent domain with respect to privately owned or occupied property within the Exploration or Production Area

ANNEX 10 (continued)

ITEM	COLUMBIA SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION	LIBERIAN BEACH SANDS EXPLOITATION COMPANY
4. Incidental Rights	(a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations within and outside the Exploitation Lots, whether publicly or privately owned; (b) to use free of charge the water, stones, rocks and other materials of the public domain of the concession area or found within 3 miles from its boundaries, and to cut and to use any timber of the Exploitation Lots; (c) During the Exploration Period the company may exercise the rights under (b) at any place within the country	(a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations: (b) to use free of charge any water, gravel, sand, clay stone and timber within the Exploration or Production Area
5. Limitation of Rights/Protection of rights of others than concessionaire	(a) Privately owned lands within the limits of a town or city are excluded from Exploitation Lots; (b) GoL may issue licenses authorizing the mining of gold and diamonds in Exploitation Lots by third parties under specified conditions but only during periods when the concessionaire is not exploiting such lots;	Citizens' right of water (by right or through custom) protected; interference with other rights enjoyed by anyone under any agreement with the GoL not allowed;
6. Duty-free privileges	Granted	Limited
7. Income Tax Holiday	Granted	Not granted
8. "Most favoured company"-clause	Only in respect of treatment of foreign employees	Included
III. FISCAL PROVISIONS		
1. Rental	(a) Annual Exploration Charge of \$ 12,000 during Exploration Period; (b) annual Surface Tax of \$ 0.06 per acre on all public lands within Exploitation Lots, payment starting with first shipment of ores; and with a minimum of \$ 12,000 a year for the total of Surface Tax and Removal Tax until substituted by payment of Income Taxes	Payment of \$ 0.075 per acre per year (5), expressly stated as being tax deductible

ANNEX 10 (continued)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COLUMBIA SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION</u>	<u>LIBERIAN BEACH SANDS EXPLOITATION COMPANY</u>
2. Taxes	Payment of income taxes will not start later than 5 years after first shipment of ores; income tax liability of 50%	Subject to Liberian laws of general application; income tax liability of 50%
3. Import duties	Exempted (including household goods)	10½ years exemption if competitive Liberian products are not available and/or for durable capital goods
4. Export duties	Exempted (whether exports are in the crude or refined state)	10½ years exemption in respect of all heavy mineral products
5. Excise Taxes	Exempted	10½ years exemption All exemption periods are renewable
6. Royalties	Payment of a Removal Tax (which ends when the company starts paying Income Taxes) of 1% of the value of exported ores, f.a.s. Liberian port of shipment (excluding gold and diamonds), and of 15% of the value of exported gold and diamonds, f.a.s. Liberian port of shipment	Payment of 2% of the f.o.b. value of the heavy mineral products whether exported or sold/used locally; royalty-payments are tax-deductable
7. Pricing Arrangement	Included but containing many loopholes. GoL may submit any dispute to arbitration	Included, but vague
IV. OTHER OBLIGATIONS		
A. <u>Financial</u>		
1. Minimum Expenditures	Not provided for	Obligation to spend not less than \$ 100.00 per square mile in the Exploration Area within first two years of operations: 50% of which within first year
2. Debt/Equity Ratio	Not provided for	3 : 1 still allowed
B. <u>Administrative</u>		
1. Availability of records in Liberia	Included	Included
2. Inspection by GoL	Included	Included
3. Independent Audit	Not provided for	Included
4. Reporting by Concessionaire	Obligation to submit regularly reports on financial and technical affairs	Obligation to submit regularly all reports which GoL or the law may require

ANNEX 10 (continued)

ITEM	COLUMBIA SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION	LIBERIAN BEACH SANDS EXPLOITATION COMPANY
<u>C. Social</u>		
1. Medical care	Obligation to maintain a dispensary and to furnish free medical assistance to all employees and their immediate families whenever more than 100 labourers are employed in any one region	Obligation to maintain a dispensary headed by a medical doctor and to furnish free medical treatment to all employees and their respective families (limited to legal spouse(s) and children) whenever more than 149 persons are employed in any one region
2. Education	Not provided for	Obligation to provide (free of charge) transportation to primary and secondary schools for the legal children of all employees
3. Conservation of human and natural resources	Obligation to avoid waste of exploited materials and to prevent fire	Obligation to provide for economically and socially viable centers of population, and for protection from air-, water-, and land-pollution, contamination or any damage, and to reserve annually amounts to finance these measures
<u>D. Liberianization</u>		
1. Employment of Liberians	Obligation not to import unskilled labour without GoL approval, and to give preference to qualified Liberians for other than unskilled labour; GoL will encourage and assist the efforts of Columbia to secure and maintain an adequate supply of labour	Realize 50% Liberianization of staff personnel within 5 years after the start of commercial production, 10 years later 75%; obligation not to import unskilled labour
2. Training of Liberians	Not provided for	Obligation to train Liberian for staff positions and for skilled labour
3. Liberian participation in capital	Not provided for	Not provided for
4. Preference to be given to Liberian goods and services	Not provided for	Use the services and materials produced by (majority-) Liberian-owned companies, if competitive
5. Right of GoL to purchase Concessionaire's output	Not provided for	GoL has the right to purchase the company's produce but not less than 40%

ANNEX 10 (continued)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>COLUMBIA SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORPORATION</u>	<u>LIBERIAN BEACH SANDS EXPLOITATION COMPANY</u>
6. Obligation to supply third party processors and/or manufacturers in Liberia	Not provided for	Owner(s) of separating or manufacturing facilities may buy up to 50% of the company's output provided that concessionaire does not operate such facilities
7. Processing/Manufacturing plants in Liberia	Not provided for	Construction and operations only obligatory if profitable
8. Use of excess capacity	Not provided for	Unused capacity of manufacturing and/or separating facilities by GoL or by third parties enforceable (not free of charge)
V. TRANSFER OR TERMINATION		
1. Assignment	Provision limited to assignment to Liberian subsidiary (obligatory)	Subject to GoL approval
2. Termination	Both parties have possibilities to terminate the agreement	Both parties have ample possibilities to terminate the agreement
3. GoL rights after termination	Infrastructural (transportation) facilities revert to GoL	Non-movable assets revert to GoL; GoL has an option to buy movable assets
VI. MISCELLANEOUS		
1. Definition of words and terms	Not provided for	Included
2. Periodic Review	Not provided for	Every 10 years
3. Currency	All payments shall be made in the national currency of Liberia; in case of a change in the national currency at the option of Columbia in the national currency of the U.S.A.	The Operator shall have the right to obtain freely convertible currencies for remittance abroad of amounts necessary; in accordance with applicable laws and regulations
4. Arbitration	Two (if necessary three) arbitrators decide on question; no appeal possible	A tribunal of 3 members (under the jurisdiction of the I.C.S.I.D.) shall apply the laws and jurisprudence of Liberia but the application or interpretation of Liberian laws of general application can never be subject to arbitration

ANNEX 10 (continued)

Notes:

- (1) Includes ilmenite, rutile and other ores containing titanium, and all other minerals found intermixed in the same deposits with ores containing titanium.
- (2) Includes monazite, and all other minerals found intermixed in the same deposits with monazite.
- (3) Includes all ores containing tantalum or niobium (columbium) and all other minerals found intermixed in the same deposits with ores containing tantalum or niobium.
- (4) Defined as zircon, monazite, ilmenite, and/or rutile, and includes products resulting or derived from the processing of such minerals.
- (5) The concession agreement is not clear here, probably as a result of a typing error, See Article 19.1 of the agreement with the Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company.

Sources:

- "An Act Approving the Concession Agreement Made and Entered into Between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the Columbia Southern Chemical Corporation, a Corporation Duly Authorized and Existing Under the Laws of the State of Delaware, United States of America, with General Business Offices at One Gateway Center, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, United States of America, dated June 27, 1956".
- "Mining Concession Agreement Between Government of Liberia and Liberian Beach Sands Exploitation Company", August 21, 1973.

ANNEX 11 (continued)

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF THE
LIBERIA MINING COMPANY (cont'd) ¹
1951 - 1977

	Total cost	Adjust ³	Profit Bef. Tax	GOL ⁴ Income	Royalties Tax	Income Tax	Profit Aft. Tax	Net Income	Depletie Allowance
1951	461	--	288	--	--	--	288	284	4
1952	3,551	--	4,619	1,111	1,111	--	3,508	3,430	78
1953	4,528	--	9,933	1,991	1,991	--	7,942	7,561	381
1954	3,743	1,200	7,065	1,801	1,801	--	5,264	4,791	472
1955	6,483	1,700	10,320	2,690	146	2,544	7,630	7,128	503
1956	6,974	2,700	11,706	3,041	153	2,888	8,665	8,042	623
1957	8,281	2,700	11,886	3,100	171	2,929	8,786	8,216	571
1958	8,552	2,700	10,878	2,821	136	2,685	8,057	7,547	510
1959	10,498	738	14,668	3,768	134	3,634	10,900	10,391	509
1960	11,517	750	16,830	5,987	149	5,838	10,843	10,261	581
1961	10,966	1,000	15,667	5,578	146	5,432	10,089	9,540	549
1962	12,328	800	13,764	4,915	150	4,765	8,849	8,340	509
1963	11,424	600	10,991	3,933	133	3,800	7,058	6,535	523
1964	12,867	341	9,849	3,540	143	3,397	6,309	5,814	495
1965	11,480	346	7,900	3,877	--	3,877	4,023	3,605	418
1966	12,272	701	8,487	4,214	--	4,214	4,274	3,731	543
1967	13,002	479	7,289	3,622	--	3,622	3,668	3,113	555
1968	13,955	148	6,071	3,013	--	3,013	3,058	2,536	522
1969	14,332	(823)	7,222	3,551	--	3,551	3,672	3,109	563
1970	14,099	--	8,054	3,873	--	3,873	4,182	3,593	589
1971	14,610	--	6,629	5,787	2,569 ⁵	3,218	842	303	539
1972	15,875	--	6,999	3,486	--	3,486	3,513	2,963	550
1973	17,985	--	3,359	1,752	--	1,752	1,606	1,137	469
1974	19,026	--	2,882	1,515	--	1,515	1,366	925	441
1975	16,923	--	5,820	2,931	--	2,931	2,888	2,516	372
1976	26,050	--	3,722	1,861	--	1,861	1,861	1,726	135
1977	9,167	--	473	236	--	236	236	236	--

TOTAL² 310,949 16,080 223,371 83,994 6,364 75,061 139,377 127,361 12,004

Notes: 1 amounts in thousands of dollars

2 differences are due to rounding

3 adjustment (added or deducted from Total Cost)

4 GOL Income = Royalties Tax + Income Tax

5 payment of lump sum; no royalties (see Chapter 8)

Source: Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia

ANNEX 11

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF THE
LIBERIA MINING COMPANY¹
1951 - 1977

	<u>Sales Income</u>	<u>Other Income</u>	<u>Total Income</u>	<u>Operating Costs</u>	<u>Interest Payments</u>	<u>Amortization & Depreciation</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
1951	749	--	749	392	26	43	461
1952	8,169	1	8,170	2,951	226	374	3,551
1953	14,460	1	14,461	3,721	150	657	4,528
1954	12,008	--	12,008	2,919	10	814	3,743
1955	18,503	--	18,503	5,616	--	867	6,483
1956	21,380	--	21,380	5,899	--	1,075	6,974
1957	22,867	--	22,867	7,296	--	985	8,281
1958	22,128	--	22,128	7,133	--	1,419	8,552
1959	25,904	--	25,904	8,728	--	1,770	10,498
1960	29,097	--	29,097	9,458	--	2,059	11,517
1961	27,633	--	27,633	8,876	--	2,090	10,966
1962	26,823	69	26,892	10,270	--	2,058	12,328
1963	22,676	338	23,015	9,306	97	2,021	11,424
1964	22,578	479	23,057	11,017	63	1,787	12,867
1965	19,047	679	19,726	9,609	34	1,837	11,480
1966	20,766	694	21,460	10,365	6	1,901	12,272
1967	20,365	405	20,770	11,109	--	1,893	13,002
1968	19,526	648	20,174	11,650	--	2,305	13,955
1969	20,048	683	20,731	12,029	--	2,303	14,332
1970	21,568	585	22,153	11,782	--	2,317	14,099
1971	20,800	439	21,239	12,350	--	2,260	14,610
1972	22,638	237	22,874	13,728	--	2,147	15,875
1973	21,096	248	21,344	16,020	--	1,965	17,985
1974	21,644	264	21,908	17,351	--	1,675	19,026
1975	22,263	480	22,743	15,390	--	1,533	16,923
1976	29,275	497	29,772	25,029	--	1,021	26,050
1977	9,120	520	9,640	9,167	--	--	9,167

TOTAL² 543,132 7,266 550,398 269,161 612 41,176 310,949

Footnotes: ¹ amounts in '000 \$

² differences are due to rounding

Source: Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 12

SUMMARIZED MINING CONCESSION AGREEMENTS WITH L.M.C. AND N.I.O.C. Ltd.

	<u>L . M . C .</u>	<u>N . I . O . C . L t d.</u>
I GENERAL		
1. Date ¹	August 27, 1945	March 13, 1958
2. Source of capital	U.S.A.	U.S.A./Liberia
3. Term	80 years	80 years
4. Exploration Period	3½ years; extensible	5 years; extensible
5. Exploration Area	an area lying within a radius of 40 miles from Bomi Hills (approximately 3 million acres) excluding areas already devoted to public use; after the exploration period the exploration rights are non-exclusive.	24,560 acres near the Mano River ("Western Province") including the Mano River Iron Ore Deposit (approximately 8 miles long and 10 miles wide)
6. Mining Area	Exploitation Lots selected from exploration area; maximum of 25,000 acres	Exploitation Lots selected from exploration area; maximum of 50,000 acres
II RIGHTS OF CONCESSIONAIRE		
1. Exclusive Rights	<p>i Exclusive exploration and mining rights with respect to iron ore and other ores, metals, minerals with the exception of gold, platinum and diamonds and other precious stones</p> <p>ii Exclusive rights with respect to constructed Accessory Works (including e.g. roads)</p>	<p>i Exclusive exploration and mining rights with respect to iron ore and other ores, metals, minerals and precious stones</p> <p>ii Exclusive rights with respect to constructed Accessory Works (including e.g. roads)</p>
2. Use of public lands	Both inside and outside concession area allowed provided such lands are not used by the Government of Liberia	Both inside and outside concession area allowed provided such lands are not used by the Government of Liberia
3. Use of private lands	Always allowed within and outside the concession area	Always allowed within and outside the concession area
4. Incidental Rights	(a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations within and outside concession area, whether publicly or privately owned; (b) to use (free of charge) the water, stones,	(a) To construct Accessory Works & Installations within and outside concession area, whether publicly or privately owned; (b) to use (free of charge) the water, stones,

ANNEX 12 (continued)

4. Incidental Rights (cont'd)	rocks and other materials found in the public domain of the Exploitation Lots and the water, stones or rocks found within 3 miles therefrom or from the Accessory Works, and to use any timber found within the Exploitation Lots ² (during the Exploration Period these rights may be utilized in the Exploration Area).	rocks and other materials found in the public domain of the Exploitation Lots and the water, stones or rocks found within 3 miles therefrom or from the Accessory Works, and to use any timber found within the Exploitation Lots; and to develop natural water power and hydroelectrical power (during the Exploration Period these rights may be utilized in the Exploration Area).
	(c) to transport the property of other concessionaires at a reasonable and uniform price; (d) to provide transportation and/or communication facilities to the general public, subject to Government of Liberia approval; (e) the right to mortgage the concession; (f) entitled to Government protection	(c) to transport the property of other concessionaires at a reasonable and uniform price; (d) to provide transportation and/or communication facilities to the general public, subject to Government of Liberia approval; (e) the right to mortgage the concession; (f) entitled to Government protection
5. Limitation of Rights/Protection of Rights of others than Concessionaire	General obligation to prevent damages which may prove prejudicial to the country or to the third parties as a result of mining	General obligation to prevent damages which may prove prejudicial to the country or to the third parties as a result of mining
6. Duty-free Privileges	granted	granted
7. Income Tax Holiday	See footnote 3	granted
8. "Most-favoured company" clause	included	included
III FISCAL PROVISIONS		
1. Rental	(a) Pay an exploration tax of \$ 100.00 per month during the exploration period and of \$ 250.00 per month during any extension thereof; (b) Pay an annual surface tax on the Exploitation Lots of 5 cents per acre during the first five years, 6 cents per acre during the next five years, 10 cents per acre during the next ten years, and 25 cents per acre during the remaining years	(a) Pay an exploration tax of \$ 100.00 per month during the exploration period and of \$ 250.00 per month during any extension thereof; (b) Pay an annual surface tax on the Exploitation Lots of 6 cents per acre during the first ten years, 10 cents per acre during the next ten years, and 20 cents per acre during the remaining years

ANNEX 12 (continued)

2. Taxes	Exempted from all taxes in lieu of an exploration tax, a surface tax and a royalty	Exempted from all taxes in lieu of an exploration tax, and a surface tax
3. Import duties	Exempted	Exempted
4. Export duties	Exempted	Exempted
5. Excise taxes	Exempted	Exempted
6. Royalties	(a) a basic royalty of 5 cents per ton on all iron ore exported, adjustable in case the average price of pig iron might have increased with more than 15% in the 10 years preceeding the exports; (b) an excess royalty of 1% of the amount in excess of the 15% price increase mentioned under (a) above; (c) a royalty of 2% of the average realized F.O.B. Monrovia value of other exported (unprocessed) ores; (d) a royalty of 5% of the net average F.O.B. Monrovia value of metals produced from ore and exported	Waived forever under the present Concession
7. Pricing Arrangement	Not included	Not included
IV OTHER OBLIGATIONS		
A. <u>Financial</u>		
1. Minimum Expenditures	Not provided for	Not provided for
2. Debt-Equity Ratio	Not provided for	Not provided for
B. <u>Administrative</u>		
1. Availability of records in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for
2. Inspection by Government of Liberia	Included	Included
3. Independent Audit	Not provided for	Not provided for
4. Reporting by Concessionaire	Obligation to submit annually reports on technical affairs and the computation of royalties	Obligation to submit reports on technical affairs related to exploitation
C. <u>Social</u>		
1. Medical care	Obligation to maintain a dispensary and to furnish free medical assistance whenever more than 100 employees are employed in any one region	Obligation to maintain a dispensary and to furnish free medical assistance whenever more than 500 labourers are employed in any one region

ANNEX 12 (continued)

2. Education	Not provided for	Not provided for
3. Conservation of human and natural	Obligation to avoid waste of exploited materials and to prevent fire	Obligation to avoid waste of exploited materials and to prevent fire
4. In case of accident	Obligation to pay to workers, or their heirs, an indemnity in case of an accident-on-the job	Obligation to pay to workers, or their heirs, an indemnity in accordance with the Workmen's Accident Compensation Law in case of an accident-on-the job
<u>D. Liberianization</u>		
1. Employment of Liberians	Obligation not to import unskilled labour without Government of Liberia approval, and not to employ more than 150 white employees without the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; Government of Liberia will encourage and assist the efforts of concessionaire to secure and maintain an adequate supply of labour	Obligation not to import unskilled labour without Government of Liberia approval, and not to employ more than 150 white employees without the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; Government of Liberia will encourage and assist the efforts of concessionaire to secure and maintain an adequate supply of labour
2. Training of Liberians	Not provided for	Not provided for
3. Liberian participation in capital	Not provided for	See footnote 4
4. Preference to be given to Liberian goods and services	Not provided for	Not provided for
5. Right of GoL to purchase concessionaire's output	Not provided for	Not provided for
6. Obligation to supply third party processors and/or manufacturers in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for
7. Obligation to establish processing and/or manufacturing plants in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for
8. Use of excess capacity	(a) The concessionaire may refine the products of other concessionaires and (b) may transport the property of other concessionaires, and (c) may reach agreement with the GoL for the production	(a) The concessionaire may refine the products of other concessionaires and (b) may transport the property of other concessionaires, and (c) may reach agreement with the GoL for the production

ANNEX 12 (continued)

9. Use of excess capacity (cont'd)	of excess power and its sale (d) the GoL is entitled to use the Concessionaire's railroad	of excess power and its sale (d) the GoL is entitled to use the Concessionaire's railroad
V TRANSFER OR TERMINATION		
1. Assignment	Subject to GoL approval though transfer to a foreign government is not allowed; at least 60% of the shares of the corporation which may acquire (part of) the concession must be owned by citizens of Liberia and/or the U.S.A.	Subject to GoL approval though transfer to a foreign government is not allowed; at least 60% of the shares of the corporation which may acquire (part of) the concession must be owned by citizens of Liberia and/or the U.S.A.
2. Termination	Both parties have possibilities to terminate the agreement	Both parties have possibilities to terminate the agreement
3. GoL Rights after termination	Immovable infrastructural (transportation and power-) facilities revert to GoL	Immovable infrastructural (transportation and power-) facilities revert to GoL
VI MISCELLANEOUS		
1. Definition of words and terms	Not provided for	Not provided for
2. Periodic Review	Not provided for	Not provided for
3. Currency	Concessionaire has the right of making payments in the currency of the U.S.A. provided GoL approves	Concessionaire has the right of making payments in the currency of the U.S.A. provided GoL approves
4. Arbitration	Two, if necessary three arbitrators decide; the decision will be final and obligatory	Two, if necessary three arbitrators decide; the decision will be final and obligatory

Notes:

- (1) The Effective Dates of the Agreements were January 22, 1946 and March 20, 1958, respectively, i.e. the dates on which the National Legislature approved the concession agreements although the Mining Concession Agreement with Christie does not mention an effective date of the agreement.
- (2) The Agreement signed on August 27, 1945 differed slightly in this respect. The provisions mentioned here are the ones which resulted from the change which the National Legislature introduced and which, as a matter of fact, constituted the

ANNEX 12 (continued)

- only alteration in the original Mining Concession Agreement when it approved the agreement on January 22, 1946.
- (3) No income tax legislation existed in Liberia in 1945/1946 so that no provision for an income tax holiday can be expected.
 - (4) The Concession Agreement proper does not include any provision regulating or prescribing Liberian participation in the capital of the Company holding the concession but the Statement of Understanding between the Government of Liberia and L.M.C. signed on August 12, 1957 and approved by the National Legislature on December 13, 1957, establishes a 50% equity interest of the Liberian Government in the new company.

Sources:

- "Liberian Mining Concession", dated August 27, 1945, typed copy, 13 pages, Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.
- "An Act Approving the Concession Agreement Made and Entered into between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the National Iron Ore Ltd., a Corporation Incorporated under the laws of the Republic of Liberia, dated March 13, 1958", approved March 20, 1958. In: Acts Passed by the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia During the Session 1957-1958, Chapter XXXVI, pp. 74-90; Monrovia, Government Printing Office (Department of State) Monrovia, Liberia, 1958.

ANNEX 13

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF THE NATIONAL IRON ORE COMPANY 1962 - 1977¹

	Sales Income (1)	Other Income (2)	Total Income (3)	Operating Costs (4)	Interest Payments (5)	Amortization & Depreciation (6)	Total Cost (7)
1962	2,941	73	3,014	2,747	993	-.-	3,740
1963	10,701	255	10,956	7,085	1,686	1,261	10,031
1964	15,878	434	16,312	10,815	1,628	1,619	14,062
1965	18,238	445	18,683	12,490	1,497	1,817	15,804
1966	17,452	428	17,880	12,519	1,343	1,791	15,653
1967	20,182	495	20,677	15,016	1,207	2,523	18,746
1968	19,409	445	19,854	14,514	1,015	2,602	18,131
1969	21,976	419	22,396	17,450	880	2,560	20,890
1970	20,800	507	21,307	15,600	663	2,883	19,146
1971	19,992	405	20,397	15,538	564	2,786	18,888
1972	19,197	296	19,493	16,575	808	2,718	20,101
1973	16,696	293	16,989	15,406	943	2,095	18,444
1974	19,982	86	20,068	17,883	1,124	2,569	21,576
1975	19,227	15	19,242	16,535	1,248	2,487	20,270
1976	21,516	-.-	21,516	18,070	1,155	2,405	21,630
1977	23,654	-.-	23,654	19,024	850	2,355	22,229
<u>TOTAL²</u>	<u>287,841</u>	<u>4,598</u>	<u>292,438</u>	<u>227,267</u>	<u>17,604</u>	<u>34,471</u>	<u>279,345</u>

Footnotes: ¹ amounts in '000 \$

² differences are due to rounding

Source: Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 13 (continued)

N . I . O . C . (c o n t ' d) ¹

	Total Cost	Adjust ³	Profits Before GoL Share	GoL Income	Royalties	Income from Participation	Profits After GoL Inc.
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1962	3,740	-.-	- 726	-.-	-.-	-.-	- 726
1963	10,031	119	806	-.-	-.-	-.-	806
1964	14,062	-.-	2,250	225	225	-.-	2,025
1965	15,804	-.-	2,879	296	133	163	2,583
1966	15,653	-.-	2,227	325	-.-	325	1,902
1967	18,746	-.-	1,931	153	-.-	153	1,778
1968	18,131	-.-	1,722	319	-.-	319	1,403
1969	20,890	-.-	1,506	305	-.-	305	1,201
1970	19,146	400	1,761	300	-.-	300	1,461
1971	18,888	256	1,253	300	-.-	300	953
1972	20,101	60	- 668	300	-.-	300	- 968
1973	18,444	209	- 1,664	-.-	-.-	-.-	- 1,664
1974	21,576	119	- 1,627	-.-	-.-	-.-	- 1,627
1975	20,270	- 127	- 901	-.-	-.-	-.-	- 901
1976	21,630	- 63	- 51	-.-	-.-	-.-	- 51
1977	22,233	-.-	1,420	-.-	-.-	-.-	1,420
<u>TOTAL</u> ²	<u>279,345</u>	<u>973</u>	<u>12,118</u>	<u>2,523</u>	<u>358</u>	<u>2,165</u>	<u>9,595</u>

Footnotes: ¹ amounts in '000 \$

² differences are due to rounding

³ adjustment (added or deducted from Total Cost)

Source: Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 14

SUMMARY TABLE MINING CONCESSION AGREEMENTS.

LAMCO (1953, 1960, 1974)¹ AND LISCO (1967)

ITEM	L A M C O		L I S C O	
	1953	1960	1974	1967
I GENERAL				
1. Date ²	September 9, 1953	April 28, 1960	February 26, 1974	August 17, 1967
2. Source of Capital	U.S.A.	Sweden/U.S.A.	Unchanged	Japan/U.S.A.
3. Term	70 years; renewable	Expires on November 18, 2023; renewable	Unchanged	70 years; renewable
4. Exploration Period	5 years	Not specified	Not specified	5 years (to commence within 6 months after the Effective Date)
5. Exploration Area	500 square miles, (appr. 320,000 acres); including the Putu Iron Ore deposits and two manganese deposits	To be selected See I-6-(k)	Not specified	The Wologisi Mountains in Lofa County
6. Mining Area	Same as exploration area	500 square miles; including a. the Nimba Area, about 78 square miles; b. Putu Area, about 37 sq.m.; c. Bassa Area, about 15 sq.m.; d. Bassa East Area, about 25 sq.m.; e. Nimba North Extension Area, about 12 sq.m.; f. Nimba Western Area, about 95 sq.m.; g. an area of about 6 sq.m. for a port; h. railroad area, about 15 sq.m.; i. two areas for quarries, about 6 sq.m.; j. timber area, about 49 sq.m.; k. an "Exploration Area" yet to be selected ⁴	300 square miles (appr. 192,000 acres). a. The Nimba Area, about 64 sq.m.; b. Nimba North Extension Area, about 11 sq.m.; c. Nimba Western Area, about 85 sq.m.; d. Nimba North-West Extension Area, about 38 sq.m.; e. Bassa Area, about 15 sq.m.; f. Bassa East Area, about 25 sq.m.; g. Buchanan harbor Area, about 16 sq.m.; h. railroad area, about 10 sq.m.; i. Kitoma Area about 26 sq.m.; j. two quarry areas, about 1 sq.m.; k. two raw water supply areas, about 3 sq.m.; l. misc., about 0.2 sq.m. ⁴	300 square miles in the Wologisi Mountain Range
II RIGHTS OF CONCESSIONAIRE				
1. Exclusive Rights	Exclusive exploration and mining rights with respect to iron ore, manganese, bauxite and oils and by-products; option on other products	Exclusive rights in respect of iron ore, iron bearing material, manganese, bauxite, columbite, mica, oil and natural gas	Limited to iron ore and iron ore bearing materials; and until December 31, 1975 including columbite	Exclusive exploration and mining rights with respect to iron ore, manganese, bauxite; option on other minerals
2. Use of public lands	Both inside and outside concession area allowed	Both inside and outside concession area allowed; doL undertakes that no public lands included in the concession area will be transferred to private ownership for the duration of the Concession	Unchanged except: Transfer of public lands to private ownership not allowed if in conflict with interests of Concessionaire	Both inside and outside concession area allowed (explicitly including town sites)
3. Use of private lands	Not provided for	Always allowed	Unchanged	Always allowed, both inside and outside the concession area (explicitly including town sites)

ITEM

ANNEX 14 (continued)

L A M C O

1953

4. Incidental Rights

a. To construct Accessory Works & Installations; not clear whether allowed both inside and outside the concession area; b. to use any stone or other material within the area; c. to cut any timber needed in the area; d. to use any water rights and possible hydro-electric power sources; e. to be supplied by the GOL with all data relative to the mineral rights granted; f. to trade in oil and by-products; g. to be supplied for other purposes; notably for the debt service and II certain reserves

1960

a. To construct Accessory Works & Installations; b. to cut, free of charge, timber and to quarry, free of charge, stone or rock; c. to use the water and to develop and use the hydro-electric power; d. to set aside areas for agricultural purposes (to be used by the company's employees); e. to process the company's products; f. the right to mortgage the concession under a debt for any purpose; g. to notably for the debt service and II certain reserves

1974

Virtually unchanged; Rights to sell timber (or stone or rock) subject to laws of general application; Right to mortgage the concession subject to written GOL approval

L I S C O

1967

a. To construct Accessory Works & Installations; b. to use, free of charge, the water, stones, rocks and other materials within the Exploitation lots and the water, stones and rocks within three miles from its boundaries or from its Accessory Works and to cut any timber needed and found within the Exploitation lots - subject to the General forest laws in Liberia - (During the exploration period these rights may be utilized in any part of the Exploration Area); c. concession under mortgage the GOL; d. some specified deductions for tax-purposes like depletion allowance royalties and other taxes and charges paid to GOL but excluding income taxes

5. Limitation of Rights/Protection of Rights of others than Concessionaire

Not provided for

Not provided for

Unchanged

General Obligation to prevent damage to the right and/or the property of the country or third parties

6. Duty-free Privileges

Granted

Granted

Virtually unchanged

Granted

7. Income Tax Holiday

Granted

Granted

Unchanged

Not Granted

8. "Most-favoured Not provided for Company"-clause

Not provided for

Unchanged

Granted with respect to fiscal obligations and the transfer of capital as well as in the case of renewal of the agreement or the option on certain minerals

III FISCAL PROVISIONS

1. Rental

6 cents per acre per year for all permanently used public lands (excluding lands occupied by railroads, roads, ports and airports)

6 cents per acre per year for all public lands within the Concession Area

50 cents per acre per year for all public lands within the Concession Area

10 cents per acre per year on all land held or used during the exploitation period (inside resp. outside the concession area)

ANNEX 14 (continued)

ITEM	L A M C O		L I S C O	
	1953	1960	1964	1967
2. Taxes	Exempted from all taxes, duties, charges etc.	Concessionaires, shareholders, creditors, managers, constructors, foreign employees, trustees are exempted from all taxes, duties, charges, etc.	Subject to certain specified taxes of general application but excluding, among others, corporate income taxes	50% corporate income tax; General income tax liability based on the tax laws of 1956
3. Import duties	Exempted	Exempted	Unchanged except the introduction of Consular fees at a flat rate of \$ 240,000.00 per year	Exempted provided competitive Liberian products are not available
4. Export duties	Exempted	Exempted	Unchanged	Exempted
5. Excise taxes	Exempted	Exempted	Unchanged	Exempted
6. Royalties	1% of the value of the minerals alongside port of shipment payable until start of payment of dividends; thereafter exempted	During first year of production the total of dividend payments and royalty payments must average 50 cents per ton of ore; thereafter exempted from royalty payments	Introduction of a royalty amounting to 4% of LAMCO's net sales of iron ore and iron ore products (calculated on a f.o.b. basis) though royalty payments are subordinated to LAMCO's debt service. (Effective royalty of 2% following GoL's 50% ownership)	15 cents per ton of iron ore, manganese or bauxite sold, utilized or otherwise disposed of; royalties are tax-deductible and have priority over depletion allowance
7. Pricing Arrangement	Vague	Vague	Unchanged	Included
IV OTHER OBLIGATIONS				
A Financial				
1. Minimum Expenditures	Obligation to spend a minimum of \$ 200,000.00 on exploration work during first 18 months, plus an undetermined amount provided certain conditions are met. Subsequent operational expenses should average \$ 100,000.00 a year	Not included	Unchanged	Obligation to spend a minimum of \$ 400,000.00 during the first three years of the exploration period on penalty of termination of exploration period
2. Debt-Equity Ratio	Not provided for	Not provided for	Introduction of a debt-equity ratio of 3.5 : 1 applying the Agreement's definitions of "debt" and "equity". No sanction in case of violation	The continuing solvency of the Company should be guaranteed and the interests of GoL, lenders and shareholders protected
B Administrative				
1. Availability of records in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included	Included
2. Inspection by GoL	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included	Included

ANNEX 14 (continued)

ITEM	L A M C O		L I S C O	
	1953	1960	1974	1967
3. Independent Audit	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included	Subject to the 1956 corporate income tax laws
4. Reporting by Concessionaire	Not provided for	Not provided for	Obligation to submit reports on training and scholarship programmes	Obligation to submit regularly detailed reports on technical and financial affairs to the Bureau of NR/S and DPM, including copies of all agreements, and all other information which the Govt may require
C Social				
1. Medical care	Not provided for	Not provided for	Obligation to provide free medical treatment to employees, to some local government officials, and to their families; and to provide a dispensary headed by a medical doctor whenever more than 100 persons are employed	Obligation to maintain a dispensary headed by a medical doctor and to furnish free medical treatment to employees whenever more than 150 workers are employed in any region
2. Education	Not provided for	Not provided for	Obligation to provide free primary and secondary school education for the dependents of employees and of some local government officials	Obligation to provide free primary school education for the children of all employees
3. Conservation of human and natural resources	Not provided for	Not provided for	Obligation to protect the water land and atmosphere from pollution, contamination or damage	Obligation to avoid waste of the exploited materials and pollution or contamination of the environment
4. In case of accident	Not provided for	Not provided for	Unchanged	The Workmen's Accident Compensation Law shall apply
D Liberlandization				
1. Employment of Liberlandians	Obligation to give preference to available skilled Liberlandians and not to import unskilled labour except in case of inadequate local supply	Obligation to give preference to available skilled Liberlandians and not to import unskilled labour except in case of inadequate local supply	Unchanged. The operations and activities of the Concessionaires be conducted and managed primarily by Liberlandians	Not provided for
2. Training of Liberlandians	Obligation to train Liberlandians in the various operations	Obligation to train Liberlandians in the various operations	Unchanged. Obligation to provide on the job training, to operate vocational training centers, and to provide scholarships	Not provided for
3. Liberlandian participation in capital	Govt acquired 50% interest in consideration of granting the mineral concession and making available its information about mineral deposits	50% interest of Govt	Unchanged	At least 20% of LISCO's voting stock should be offered to Liberlandian Concessionaire's right to issue non-voting shares with preference as to dividends are unlimited

ANNEX 14 (continued)

ITEM	L A M C O		L I S C O	
	1953	1960	1974	1967
4. Liberian representation on Board of Directors	5 of the 11 members appointed by GoL	5 of the 11 members appointed by GoL (LAMCO only)	Unchanged	2 of the 3 Liberians on LISCO's 11 member Board of Directors must represent GoL
5. Preference to be given to Liberian goods and services	Not provided for	Not provided for	General commitment to prefer competitive Liberian goods and services	Included with respect to I imports and II shipping arrangements (provided rates are competitive and buyers of ore do not demand to ship the ore in their own vessels)
6. Right of GoL to purchase concessionaire's output	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included but limited to 5% of Concessionaire's output	Not provided for
7. Obligation to supply third party process, mine and/or manufacturers in Liberia	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included but limited to 5% of Concessionaire's output	Included but no quantity mentioned
8. Obligation to establish processing and manufacturing facilities in Liberia within 15 years	If found economical and profitable the Company will create mineral processing and manufacturing facilities in Liberia within 15 years	Company will investigate within 10 years whether it is economical and profitable to create mineral processing and manufacturing facilities in Liberia and will create such facilities if such investigation is affirmative	No obligation to participate in the erection of steel manufacturing or other ore processing facilities except cooperation with relevant feasibility studies	Obligation to promote jointly iron ore processing and manufacturing facilities in Liberia (within 15 years after Effective Date) if found economically feasible; Obligation to consider this economic feasibility every three years
9. Use of excess capacity	Not provided for	a. Concessionaires must accept a reasonable amount of commercial traffic (ports, railroads); b. Concessionaires may transport and/or ship the property of other concessionaires; c. GoL is entitled to use Concessionaire's railroads; d. opening of Concessionaire's roads to public traffic	Unchanged	a. Concessionaire must accept a reasonable amount of commercial traffic (ports, railroads); b. concessionaire may transport and/or ship the property of other concessionaires; c. GoL is entitled to use Concessionaire's railroads; d. opening of Concessionaire's roads to public traffic
10. Depositing of sales proceeds with Liberian Banks	Not provided for	Not provided for	Included	Not provided for
V TRANSFER OR TERMINATION				
1. Assignment	Assignment to L.A.D.C. envisaged	Assignment for the purpose of raising funds allowed; right to assign the agreement to affiliated company granted to Bethlehem Steel; Concessionaires may assign their interest to each other	Subject to written GoL approval	Subject to GoL approval; assignment to foreign government is excluded

ITEM

ANNEX 14 (continued)

L A M C O

1953

2. Termination
If actual exploration and actual mining operations have not started within 4 resp. 18 months after signing of Agreement, the concession will lapse

1960

Gol's right to terminate the agreement very limited; silent on Concessionaires' possibilities

1974

Limited rights of Gol to terminate the agreement

L I S C O

1967

The Agreement will be automatically cancelled if commercial shipment of iron ore has not started within 4 years after the expiration date of the exploration period, and if active exploration has not started within 6 months after the Effective Date of the Agreement

3. Gol Rights after termination

Not provided for

All subsurface mineral rights as well as all fixed assets shall revert automatically to Gol; Gol has an option to buy movable assets including stockpile

Unchanged. Sales proceeds of movable assets form part of LAMCO's Gross Revenues thus partly benefitting the Treasury

All subsurface mineral rights as well as all fixed assets shall revert automatically to Gol; Gol has an option to buy movable assets, including stockpile

VI MISCELLANEOUS

1. Definition of words and terms

Not provided for

Limited

Limited

Limited

2. Periodic Review

Not provided for

Not provided for

In case of a profound change in circumstances parties may request review

Not provided for

3. Currency

Dividends payable to private shareholders will always be convertible from Liberian currency into U.S. dollars at the prevailing rate of exchange; no taxation of dividends or restriction of dividends; interest-payments and debt-amortization when transferred abroad

Dividends payable to private shareholders and payment of interest, principal and premium will always be convertible from Liberian currency at the prevailing free market rate of exchange into U.S. dollars or any other currency; no restriction or taxation of transfers of money to abroad; exemption from possible exchange control regulations

Unchanged provided that each Concessionaire will deposit sales proceeds with Liberian Banks

Right to transfer any payments from Liberia to any other country; no restriction on the importation of funds

4. Arbitration

Arbitration Committee of 3 persons with competence of last resort. The Agreement is silent on the decision-making procedure; whether by majority or unanimity

Arbitration Committee of 3 persons with competence of last resort. Decision may be by majority vote

Parties have the right to submit a dispute to the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes for settlement by arbitration pursuant to the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of other States. The Arbitral Tribunal shall apply the law of the Republic of Liberia, in principle, and its decision shall be final and binding

Very detailed arrangement providing for an arbitration commission with competence of last resort, and it explicitly stating that neither the applicable law nor the rule of procedure, of any country, will ever be considered as applying to the case under arbitration

ANNEX 14 (continued)

Notes:

- (1) The 1974 Agreement is a Supplemental Agreement to the 1960 Mining Concession Agreement; Excluded are the Supplemental Agreements of 1962 and 1965.
- (2) The effective dates of these concession agreements are generally the dates on which the National Legislature approved the Agreements: (in chronological order) November 18, 1953; May 28, 1960; September 8, 1967; and March 27, 1974 although the latter is the date on which President Tolbert approved the 1974 Supplemental Agreement; The Concession Agreement with Detwiler of 1953 does not mention an effective date of the Agreement.
- (3) Given back to Government in 1963.
- (4) 1 square mile ("sq.m.") = 639.98 acres.

Sources:

- Concession Agreement made and entered into between the Government of Liberia, Represented by the Honorable William E. Dennis, Secretary of the Treasury, R.L., and the United African Corporation, Represented by its President L.E. Detwiler, Dated September 9, 1953.
- Mining Concession Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company and Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Dated as of April 28, 1960.
- "Supplemental Agreement Among the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company and Liberia Bethlehem Iron Mines Company, Successor To and Assign of Bethlehem Steel Corporation Dated as of February 26, 1974", including Appendix I and Exhibit A.
- "An Act Approving the Concession Agreement and a Letter of Amendment thereto made between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Liberia Iron and Steel Corporation For the Exploration and Exploitation of Iron Ore and Other Minerals within the Republic of Liberia", Approved September 8, 1967.

ANNEX 15

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF LAMCO 1963-1977¹

	Sales Income	Other Income	Total Income	Operating Costs	Interest Payments	Amortization & Depreciation	Total Cost
1963	12,671	--	12,671	7,152	5,857	2,453	15,462
1964	33,642	--	33,642	10,068	9,473	6,734	26,275
1965	42,595	--	42,595	13,651	9,517	7,083	30,251
1966	37,596	--	37,596	12,893	8,888	7,157	28,938
1967	34,294	--	34,294	11,246	8,975	7,352	27,573
1968	43,631	--	43,631	15,535	10,867	9,413	35,815
1969	56,711	--	56,711	21,469	10,809	12,180	44,458
1970	67,553	--	67,553	24,846	10,299	13,260	48,405
1971	57,271	--	57,271	23,241	9,920	12,647	45,808
1972	69,640	--	69,640	30,824	9,255	12,022	52,101
1973	73,008	--	73,008	33,330	8,721	12,115	54,166
1974	105,375	--	105,375	49,678	6,335	12,584	68,596
1975	113,240	--	113,240	45,184	3,662	15,265	64,111
1976	116,915	--	116,915	56,686	2,776	15,736	75,198
1977	105,639	--	105,639	68,858	3,675	17,470	90,003
TOTAL ²	<u>969,781</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>969,781</u>	<u>424,661</u>	<u>119,029</u>	<u>163,471</u>	<u>707,160</u>

Notes:

(1) Amounts in thousands of U.S. dollars
(2) Differences are due to rounding

Source:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 15 (continued)
FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF LAMCO 1963-1977¹

	Total Cost	Adjust ³	Profit Bef. Tax	GOL Income	Royalties	Participation	Profit Aft. Tax
1963	15,462	--	- 2,791	893	893	--	- 3,684
1964	26,275	--	7,367	2,953	2,453	500	4,414
1965	30,251	--	12,344	3,704	--	3,704	8,640
1966	28,938	--	8,658	3,223	--	3,223	5,435
1967	27,573	--	6,721	3,020	--	3,020	3,701
1968	35,815	--	7,816	3,699	--	3,699	4,117
1969	44,458	4,637	7,616	4,812	--	4,812	2,804
1970	48,405	--	19,148	6,710	--	6,710	12,438
1971	45,808	1,870	9,593	5,004	--	5,004	4,589
1972	52,101	1,465	16,074	6,026	--	6,026	10,048
1973	54,166	5,763	13,079	5,506	--	5,506	7,573
1974	68,596	8,385	28,394	6,834	4,216	2,618	21,560
1975	64,111 - 2,904		52,033	7,530	4,530	3,000	44,503
1976	175,198	3,484	38,233	7,677	4,677	3,000	30,556
1977	90,003	2,111	13,525	7,226	4,226	3,000	6,229
TOTAL ²	707,160	24,811	237,810	74,817	20,995	53,822	162,993

Notes:

- (1) Amounts in thousands of U.S. dollars
- (2) Differences are due to rounding
- (3) Adjustment (added or deducted from Total Cost)

Source:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 16

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF LIBETH 1963 - 1977¹

	Sales Income	Other Income	Total Income	Operating Costs	Interest Payments	Amortization & Depreciation	Total Cost
1963	2,373	--	2,373	1,178	1,957	790	3,925
1964	14,113	--	14,113	3,650	3,158	2,346	9,154
1965	15,470	--	15,470	3,678	3,256	2,449	9,383
1966	15,281	--	15,281	3,476	3,124	2,836	9,436
1967	18,837	--	18,837	4,635	3,041	3,718	11,394
1968	17,303	--	17,303	5,099	3,517	3,955	12,571
1969	19,358	--	19,358	6,016	3,502	4,455	13,973
1970	18,110	--	18,110	6,421	3,483	3,965	13,869
1971	19,182	--	19,182	7,304	3,328	3,875	14,507
1972	20,465	--	20,465	8,073	3,145	3,841	15,059
1973	29,476	--	29,476	11,384	1,890	5,010	18,284
1974	35,085	--	35,085	15,797	1,944	4,019	21,760
1975	33,287	--	33,287	15,980	1,360	2,904	20,244
1976	39,497	--	39,497	18,871	986	3,694	23,551
1977	23,975	--	23,975	12,831	1,283	2,883	16,997
TOTAL ²	321,812	--	321,812	124,393	38,974	50,740	214,107

NOTES:

- (1) Amounts in thousands of U.S. dollars.
- (2) Differences are due to rounding.

SOURCE:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 16 (continued)

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF LIBETH 1963 - 1977¹

	Total cost	Adjust ³	Profit Bef. Tax	GOL Income	Royalties	Income Tax	Profit Aft. Tax	Net Income	Depletie Allowance
1963	3,925	93	1,645	158	(158)	--	1,803	-1,803	
1964	9,154	266	4,693	1,154	--	1,154	3,539	3,116	423
1965	9,383	39	6,047	2,035	--	2,035	4,012	2,032	1,980
1966	9,436	84	5,761	1,943	--	1,943	3,818	1,944	1,874
1967	11,394	104	7,339	2,454	--	2,454	4,885	2,455	2,430
1968	12,571	31	4,701	1,759	--	1,759	2,942	1,759	1,183
1969	13,973	23	5,362	2,009	--	2,009	3,353	2,008	1,345
1970	13,869	59	4,186	1,630	--	1,630	2,556	1,632	924
1971	14,507	377	4,298	1,611	--	1,611	2,687	1,611	1,076
1972	15,059	156	5,250	1,833	--	1,833	3,417	1,833	1,584
1973	18,284	2,591	8,601	2,890	--	2,890	5,711	2,890	2,821
1974	21,760	1,650	11,675	4,000	--	4,000	7,675	4,100	3,575
1975	20,244	74	12,969	4,778	--	4,778	8,191	4,777	3,414
1976	23,551	26	15,920	5,962	--	5,962	9,958	5,961	3,997
1977	16,997	--	6,978	2,392	--	2,392	4,586	2,427	2,159
TOTAL ²	214,107	5,573	102,135	36,608	(158)	36,450	65,527	36,742	28,785

NOTES:

(1) Amounts in thousands of U.S. dollars.

(2) Differences are due to rounding.

(3) Adjustment (added or deducted from Total Cost)

Source:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 17

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE BONG MINING COMPANY 1965 - 1977¹

	Sales Income (1)	Other Income (2)	Total Income (3)	Operating Costs (4)	Interest Payments (5)	Amortization & Depreciation (6)	Total Cost (7)
1965	10,855	-.-	10,855	4,758	3,869	3,402	12,029
1966	20,532	-.-	20,532	10,471	4,600	5,065	20,136
1967	22,750	12	22,762	11,673	4,717	5,320	21,710
1968	26,646	4	26,650	13,517	4,640	6,682	24,839
1969	25,994	-.-	25,994	14,441	4,926	6,668	26,035
1970	35,229	6	35,235	18,166	6,679	7,472	32,317
1971	39,820	6	39,826	25,688	8,643	8,336	42,667
1972	50,483	13	50,496	28,814	8,851	9,349	47,014
1973	63,763	316	64,079	35,896	9,000	12,139	57,035
1974	82,676	289	82,965	53,942	10,180	12,580	76,702
1975	101,458	296	101,754	66,487	8,819	15,131	90,437
1976	127,060	25	127,085	84,291	7,669	16,043	108,003
1977	124,100 *	1,500 *	125,600 *	87,500 *	10,100 *	19,700 *	117,300 *
TOTAL ²	731,366	2,467	733,833	455,644	92,693	127,887	676,224

Notes:

- (1) Amounts are in thousands of U.S. dollars.
 (2) Differences are due to rounding.
 * Rounded to nearest \$ 100,000.

Source:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 17 (continued)

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE BONG MINING COMPANY 1965 - 1977¹

	Total Cost (7)	Adjust ³ (8)	Profit Bef. Tax (9)	GoL Income (10)	Royalties (11)	Participation (12)	Profit Aft. Tax (13)
1965	12,029	-	584	-	392	-	-
1966	20,136	-	38	434	729	-	-
1967	21,710	-	230	1,282	813	-	469
1968	24,839	-	547	2,358	-	1,158	1,200
1969	26,035	-	2,391	2,350	-	1,158	1,192
1970	32,317	102	2,816	1,387	-	1,387	1,429
1971	42,667	-	3,268	427	1,188	-	761
1972	47,014	-	692	4,174	-	1,669	2,505
1973	57,035	3,021	4,023	2,011	1,698	313	2,011
1974	76,702	1,013	5,250	2,633	2,480	153	2,617
1975	90,437	-11,367	22,684	11,342	3,044	8,298	11,342
1976	108,003	2,888	16,194	8,097	3,812	4,285	8,097
1977	117,300	300*	8,092	4,046	3,723	322	4,046
TOTAL ²	676,224	-11,793	69,494	36,623	17,879	18,743	32,871

Notes:

(1) Amounts are in thousands of U.S. dollars.

(2) Differences are due to rounding.

(3) Adjustment (added or deducted from Total Cost)

* Rounded to nearest \$ 100,000.

Source:

- Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

CATEGORY A:

INCOME TAX PROVISIONS AND EFFECTIVE INCOME TAX
PAYMENTS OF TIMBER CONCESSIONS ACTIVE AS OF JUNE 1977

Name Company	Year	Contractual	Corporate Income	Base of	Effective
		Corporate Income Tax Exemption Period	Tax Liability as from	Corporate Income Tax Payments	Payments
1. Liberian Industrial Forestry Corporation	1957 ¹	1	Feb. 29, 1972	Income tax laws of general application but cumulative net income to be tax exempted shall not exceed 150% of the capital initially invested	- ²
2. SIGA Lumber Company of Bassa, Inc.	1959 ³	5 year period commencing Dec. 28, 1968 ³	Dec. 20, 1973	Income tax laws of general application	-
3. Maryland Logging Company	1960 ⁴	10 years ⁴	Dec. 23, 1975	not exceeding 50% of net income in any one year ⁴	-
4. MIM Timber Company	1962 ⁵	not indicated	Apr. 29, 1970 ⁶	income tax laws of general application	175,019.30 ⁷
5. Bolado Sawmill Company	1962 ⁸	5 years from the date of the agreement	Apr. 29, 1975	income tax laws of general application but cumulative net income to be tax exempted shall not exceed 150% of the capital initially invested	- ⁹
6. Talk Lumber Company	1966	10 years beginning one year after the date of signing of the agreement	Dec. 28, 1977	income tax laws of general application	- ¹⁰
7. East Asiatic Company	1967	8 years from the first year of marketable production	1976 ¹¹	cumulative net income to be tax exempted shall not exceed 150% of the capital initially invested	-

8. Lofa Timber	1968	5 years ¹²	1973 (?)	not specified ¹³	-
9. Cavalla Timber	1968	5 years beginning 6 months from the signing of the agreement, or from the date actual timbering operations are commenced, whichever is earlier	May 1974 or Oct. 31, 1973 ¹⁴	income tax laws of general application	- ¹⁵
10. Liberia Eastern Timber Corp.	1970	5 years beginning the first year of marketable production	Dec. 01, 1977	not specified ¹⁶	-
11. Cestos Nimba Corp.	1970	5 years from the date of the agreement	Apr. 29, 1975	income tax laws of general application	-
12. Liberian Logging & Wood Processing Company	1970	5 years from the date of marketable production	Jan. 01, 1984 ¹⁷	income tax laws of general application but cumulative net income to be tax exempted shall not exceed 150% of the capital initially invested.	-
13. Lofa-River Cess Lumber Corp.	1970	5 years from the first year of marketable production	Apr. 30, 1981	income tax laws of general application	-
14. P.P.P. Timber Industries Ltd.	1974	during 5 years commencing on the date of first marketable production 25% resp. 50% resp. 75% of net income tax exempted (varying with stages of production); thereafter during 5 years 100% of net income tax exempted	July 01, 1975 ¹⁸	income tax laws of general application	-

ANNEX 18 (Continued)

15. Maryland Wood Processing	1974	Varying with stages of production 25% resp. 50% resp. 75% of net income will be tax exempted. After Aug. 31, 1977, a 5 yrs. complete tax exemption period will follow (19)	income tax laws of general application
16. Vanply of Liberia Inc.	1972	10 years commencing on the date of first marketable production of plywood	income tax laws of general application but net income exempted from tax shall not exceed 150% of the capital investment or the gross asset value (as shown at the beginning of production of plywood)
		1986 ²¹	

The concessions listed below ("Category B") fall under the provision of the Model Timber Concession Agreement which obliges a concessionaire to pay a tax on its net income after a 5 years' income tax exemption period beginning on the date of marketable production as determined by the Government. However, when the payment of income tax begins, the concessionaire shall not pay more than 50% of its net income in any one year and may retain 20% of any net profits in each year for investment or re-investment within Liberia. This amount, represented by this 20%, shall be exempted from income tax provided Government approves in writing the intended (re-)investment before the concessionaire (re-)invests it.

ANNEX 18 (continued)

CATEGORY B:

<u>Name Company</u>	<u>Date signing Conc. Agreem.</u>	<u>Date Presid. Approval</u>	<u>Date 1st marketable Production</u>	<u>End of Tax Free Period</u>
1. Bell Timber Company	July 20, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	Feb. 1974	Feb. 1979
2. Cape Palmas Logging Co.	May 31, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
3. Dunbar Lumber Corp.	July 20, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
4. Liberian-Ivorian Logging Corp.	July 20, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	March 1974	March 1979
5. Liberian & Overseas Ventures Corp.	July 20, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	Feb. 1974	Feb. 1979
6. MACARS Timber Corp.	April 16, 1973	^b	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
7. NACA Enterprises Inc.	May 14, 1973	May 22, 1973	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
8. Togba Timber Corp.	May 31, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
9. Tropical Farms Corp.	July 20, 1973	June 13, 1975	May 1975	May 1980
10. Yah River Logging Corp.	May 31, 1973	^b	1973 ^a	1978 ^a
11. Jlaio Enterprises Inc.	May 31, 1973	Aug. 8, 1973	April 1975	April 1980
12. International Wood Corp.	Jan. 31, 1974	Feb. 5, 1974	March 1974	March 1979
13. Liberian Timber Corp.	Oct. 11, 1974	Dec. 9, 1974	May 1975	May 1980
14. Nimba Corp.	Feb. 6, 1974	^b	April 1974	April 1979
15. Varjan Logging Corp.	1974	Feb. 5, 1974	May 1976	May 1981
16. Associated Liberian Timber Corp.	July 21, 1975	Aug. 15, 1975	May 1976	May 1981
17. Lofa Lumber Corp.	Jan. 23, 1975	June 13, 1975	May 1976	May 1981
18. Toweh Logging Corp.	Jan. 23, 1975	June 13, 1975	May 1975 (1)	May 1980

Notes:

1. The original Concession agreement which dated from 1957 was renegotiated in 1970. The original provision relating to tax exemption period is not known to the author owing to the absence of a copy of the concession agreement.
2. There is no profit and loss statement to show profit or loss in any year of operation (1957-1977).
3. The first concession agreement was signed in 1959 and approved in 1960. It exempted the concessionaire from payment of all local and general taxes during 5 years (from the effective date of the agreement) but SIGA managed to have a tax exemption period of 13 years. In 1965 SIGA asked for and obtained a four year extension of its income tax exemption period. In 1968 the company again applied to President Tubman for an extension of this privilege and the latter granted the company a further five years' extension. In 1973 SIGA again applied for an extension of its income tax free period which was refused by President Tolbert. In 1973 the company had a net profit of over \$ 1 million (tax free) but in subsequent years heavy losses were reported.
4. The agreement was probably renegotiated in 1965. The original 1960 concession agreement stated as contractual corporate income tax exemption period: *"10 years beginning one year from the signing of the agreement or from the date of active production on the first Concession tract, whichever is the earlier"*. The income tax laws of general applications were to be the basis of corporate income tax payments, according to this 1960 agreement.
5. Year of the original concession agreement, succeeded by a timber concession agreement of April 29, 1970.
6. Date of the concession agreement.
7. Corporate income tax payments to Government were \$ 27,869,30 and \$ 147,150.00 in 1972 and 1973, respectively.
8. The original concession agreement was followed by a timber concession agreement of April 29, 1970.
9. The financial statements for 1963-1966 indicate losses. Since Bolado renewed its concession agreement (in 1970) no financial statements were submitted - despite repeated requests by the Liberian Government/Ministry of Finance.
10. As of June 1977 the company never filed a single statement to show or indicate profit or loss during any period of its operations since the signing of the agreement.
11. Records indicated that the company began marketable production some time in 1968 but the exact month and date were not specified in the files.
12. The Concession agreement does not specify whether the tax exemption period begins on the date of signing of the agreement or on the date or year of marketable production. Thus the end of the tax free period is not precisely known.
13. As the basis of corporate income tax payments was not specified in the agreement the application of general income tax laws might be assumed.
14. May 1974 according to the estimation of the Concessions Secretariat but October 31, 1973 according to the Company.
15. The company had a net profit of \$ 321,403.00 in 1976; the amount payable on the net profit for 1976 (\$ 109,970) was not yet paid in June 1977.

16. The original concession agreement was signed on June 7, 1968. The company was granted exemption from income tax for a period of 5 years, from the first year of marketable production. This period could be extended for another 3 years. However, it was stipulated that *"in no case shall the cumulative net income exempted from tax exceed 150% of the capital invested, measured from the beginning of productions"* (on May 12, 1970). This concession agreement was followed by another, which apparently replaced the former though this was not explicitly stated. Again L.E.T.C.O. was granted a five years' income tax holiday.
17. Records of the Concessions Secretariate indicated that L.L.W.P.C. began marketable production in 1971 but the month and date were not specified. The company's income tax exemption period thus expired in 1976. However, L.L.W.P.C. signed an Investment Incentive Agreement with the Government (March 2, 1977) which granted the company one year complete tax exemption (Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1977) and then partial tax exemption for a five year period in accordance with stages of development of the industry and another 2 years during which *"no tax shall be paid on any net income on profits made"*.
18. A tax liability on 50% of the company's net income. However, the company's profit and loss statement for 1975 indicated a loss (of \$ 410,831).
19. The main condition here was that by August 1977 the company would have installed and brought into operation a Rotary Veneer Mill with a capacity of not less than 29,000 m2 per annum. Failure to do this would result in the Government withdrawing all tax incentives under the agreement.
20. A tax liability on 25% of the company's net income. However, the company's profit and loss account for the year 1975 indicated a loss (of \$ 500,977).
21. Marketable production of plywood began in 1976. Thus, the 10 years' tax exemption period runs from 1976 - 1986. Date and/or month are not known.
 - a. As exact month and date of first marketable production were unknown to the Government it was unable to specify the end of the tax free period.
 - b. Not known.

Source: Author's research based on the archives of the Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, notably the various timber concession agreements and a memo of the Concessions Secretariat, dated July 12, 1977 (no title), Ref. no. MF/2-7/753/77.

ANNEX 19

MASTER TABLE TIMBER CONCESSIONS 1957 - 1977

Name Company	Year of 1st Agreement	original term	CONCESSION Size (acres)	LOCATION (Actual) Location	Nationality of Investor	Liberian Advisor/ Lawyer/ Shareholder
1. Liberian Industrial Forestry Corp. 1	1957	20	364,300	Lofa County	Spanish/Lib.	George Padmore ^a
2. SIGA Lumber Company of Bassa, Inc. 2	1959	60	393,700	Grand Gedeh County Nimba County		Joshua L. Harmon ^b Victoria Harmon ^c Phillip J.L. Brumskin ^d
3. Maryland Logging Company 3	1960	45	300,000 (Area I) 32,25 (Area II) 286.26 (Area III)	Grand Gedeh County	originally German; then English; now Dutch	W.A. Tubman ^e Richard A. Henriess ^f G. Flama Sherman
4. MIM Timber Company 4	1962	20	207,812	Grand Gedeh County	English(?) / Liberian	E. Jonathan Goodridge ^h
5. Bolado Sawmill Company 5	1963	20	32,800	Bong County	Spanish	Robert Azango ⁱ
6. Talk Lumber Company 6	1966	25	486,695	Nimba County	Liberian	Samuel B. Cooper ^j
7. East Asiatic Company 7	1967	25	345,320	Grand Gedeh County	Danish	Richard A. Henriess ^k
8. Lofa Timber Company 8	1968	20	292,000	Nimba County	French	C. Cecil Dennis ^k
9. Cavalla Timber Company 9	1968	20	321,888	Grand Gedeh County	originally Dutch; then English; now Liechtenstein	E. Jonathan Goodridge
10. Liberian Eastern Timber Company 10	1968	20	558,400	Grand Gedeh County	French/Lib.	Richard A. Henriess
11. Cestos Nimba Logging Corp. 11	1970	20	341,000	Nimba County	Formerly Ivorian & French	H.W. Badio ^l Alfred Sayeh ^m

ANNEX 19 (continued)

12. Liberian Logging & Wood Processing Corp. 12	1970	20	495,750 (Area I) 100 (Area II) 60 (Area III)	Grand Gedeh County Grand Gedeh County Grand Gedeh County	Lebanese/ Liberian	W.R. Tolbert(?) ⁿ
13. Lofa-River Cess Lumber Corp. 13	1970	20	340,000	Grand Bassa County	Liberian(?)	Ernest Liberty ^o
14. P.P.P. Timber Industries Ltd. 14	1973	30	148 (Area I) 100 (Area II)	Grand Gedeh County	German	3 Liberian share-holders
15. Bell Timber Company ¹⁵	1973	20	273,800	Grand Gedeh County	Italian	C. Cecil Dennis James A. Greene ^p
16. Cape Palmas Logging Corp. 16	1973	20	70,000	Grand Gedeh County	Lebanese	Lavoisier A. Tubman ^q
17. Dunbar Logging Corp. 17	1973	20	204,000	Lofa County	Liberian	E. Dunbar ^r
18. Liberian-Ivorian Logging Company 18	1973	20	28,400	Grand Gedeh County	Ivorian/ Liberian	A.B. Tolbert ^s Albert White
19. Liberian & Overseas Ventures Corp.	1973	20	200,000	Grand Gedeh County	Liberian	Toye Bernard ^u Alfred Sayeh
20. MACARS Timber Corp.	1973	20	273,600	Grand Gedeh County	Liberian	Sherman family
21. Jlaio Enterprises Inc.	1973	20	157,000	Sinoe County	Liberian	Joseph N. Togba ^v Alfred Sayeh
22. NACA Enterprises Inc. 19	1973	20	158,000	Grand Gedeh County Maryland County	Liberian	Christian A. Baker ^w Gabriel Doe ^x
23. Togba Timber Corp.	1973	20	28,007	Grand Gedeh County	Liberian	Stephen S. Togba ^y
24. Tropical Farms Corp.	1973	20	200,000	Lofa County	Liberian	William E. Ward ^z
25. Yah River Logging Corp.	1973	20	114,750	Nimba County	Lebanese/ Liberian	Taylor Major ^{aa} Fred Ryan ^{bb} Samuel T. Voker ^{cc}
26. International Wood Corp. 20	1974	20	74,500	Grand Gedeh County	Liberian	Alfred D. Harris ^{dd}

ANNEX 12 (continued)

27. Liberian Timber Corp.	1974	20	52,400	Grand Gedeh County	Lebanese	Toye Bernard
28. Nimba Logging Corp.	1974	20	46,300 (Area I)	Nimba County	Liberian	Edwin Williams ^{ee}
			315,000 (Area II)	Nimba County		
			45,800 (Area III)	Nimba County		
29. Varjan Logging Corp.	1974	20	190,000	Lofa County	Liberian	V. Marbue Dennis ^{ff}
30. Associated Liberian Timber Corp.	1975	20	176,000	Lofa County	Yugoslavia Lebanese Sierra Leonean Liberian	Carmenia Pierre Tolbert ^{gg}
31. Lofa Lumber Corp.	1975	20	119,400	Bassa County	Ivorian	H.W. Badio
32. Toweh Logging Corp.	1975	20	25,400	Nimba County	Liberian	Gbarzuo Toweh ^{hh} Gabriel Doe
33. Liberian Timber & Plywood Corp.	1977	30	984,228 (Area I) 406 (Area II) 491 (Area III)	Since County and Grand Gedeh County	Formerly U.S./ Liberian	True Whig Party

TOTAL CONCESSION AREA (acres)

8,217,874

Source:

Author's research, based on the archives of the Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia, notably the various timber concessions agreements.

Footnotes Master Table Timber Concessions 1957 - 1977

1. The original Concession agreement was signed in 1957 between Vincente Munariz and the Liberian Government. The original concession area was situated in Nimba County, covering 45,800 acres. The agreement was for 20 years, and was renewable with 15 additional years. The concession agreement was renewed on April 28, 1970. The chairman of the Concessions and Investment Commission, the Minister of Finance, Stephen A. Tolbert on March 14, 1974 wrote to the Minister of Agriculture, James T. Philips, that *"The Liberian Industrial Forest Corporatives has been operating in an area estimated to between 350,000 - 400,000 acres of forest land in Bomi Territory and Lower Lofa County, that is not identified in the Timber Concession Agreement of April 28, 1970"*.

In a letter dated March 25, 1974 the Minister of Agriculture replied to the Minister of Finance that five years earlier, on March 25, 1969, an agreement had been signed between the Government of Liberia and the Liberian Industrial Forestry Corporation, the "L.I.F.C. Bie Mountain Concession", which included a Forest Products Utilization Contract for salvage area outside of the National Forest Reserve. This contract whose existence was apparently unknown to the Minister of Finance, granted the company an area of 250,000 acres near the Kpelle National Forest ("Area A") and an area of 150,000 acres near the southern boundary of the Gola National Forest ("Area B"). Portion of this concession area is thus situated in Grand Cape Mount County, and the rest in Bomi Territory and lower Lofa County.

The Concession area was a very rich one, containing almost all of the species exportable at that time and other constructional species which were in great demand on the local market. The 1969 agreement did not provide for payment of an annual surface rental. It only provided for payment of tree marking fees and stumpage fees. Closer examination of the concession area revealed that the 400,000 acres granted under this Salvage Agreement included a portion of the South Kpelle National Forest totalling about 75,000 acres of forest land: On March 18, 1963 the L.I.F.C. had been granted two years to conduct enumeration surveys in this area of 75,000 acres of forest land in the South Kpelle National Forest. A separate agreement with the Liberian Government was required for any exploitation activities.

However, without negotiating an agreement for the portion of the Kpelle National Forest which was included in the 1969 Salvage Agreement L.I.F.C. entered the forest and started operating it. Thus, the L.I.F.C. at that time became the only timber company in the country operating and holding (without rental payment) 400,000 acres of rich dense forest lands in and outside the National Forest Reserve. This was in violation of the Government's policy which stipulated that National Forest Reserves are not to be exploited under salvage without rental payments. The L.I.F.C. thus occupied a unique position as adjacent concessions (around its own concession area) - United Logging Corporation, Brazilian-Afro Logging Corporation e.g. - were actually paying surface rental to the Liberian Government.

As a result the 1970 concession agreement was revised on December 22, 1975. L.I.F.C. relinquished its concession area in Nimba County, and ceded it to Nimbaco (see below) and thus retained a total concession area of 364,300 acres.

2. The 1959 concession agreement granted S.I.G.A. for a period of 60 years 40,000 acres of forest land, situated in the Tonton and Diola areas of Grand Bassa County (15,000 acres) and in the Tappeta District of the Central Province (25,000 acres). The area in Grand Bassa County was given back to the Government in 1965. As the agreement expired in 1970 it was renewed in that year. The resulting concession agreement of 4 February 1970 granted a new concession area which totalled 393,700 acres according to the agreement, though the total of all areas is slightly higher (393,832 acres).

- Area A: the Gbi Doru Gbazon Concession Area, situated in the Nimba and Grand Gedeh Counties south of Tappita and containing approximately 192,000 acres of forest land.
- Area B: 60,000 acres west of the Toe Town-Tchien motor road.
- Area C: 122 acres adjacent to Area B.
- Area D: 121,710 acres in the Tchien area.
- Area E: 20,000 acres near the Gio National Forest (this was the area in the Central Province originally included in the 1959 agreement).

The new agreement is for twenty years, with an option for another 15 years.

3. The original concession agreement of January 26, 1960 was approved by the National Legislature on May 11 of the same year. It granted a concession area of 500,000 acres for a period of 45 years, with an option for an additional term of 25 years. On December 23, 1965 the concession agreement was modified though the concession area hardly changed: 250,000 acres within the Grebo National Forest plus 250,000 acres in the unreserved Forest lying within the Eastern Province between the Grand Cess River and *"up the point where the Cavalla River starts to be the frontier between Liberia and the Ivory Coast"*. The term of the agreement was reduced to 25 years, with an option for an additional term of 20 years. Three years later the agreement was again changed, amending the concession area to 500,000 acres of timber within the Grebo National Forest. On May 7, 1974 a Revised Timber Concession Agreement between the Liberian Government and M.L.C. was signed which revised agreement was modeled on the Model Timber Concession Agreement. The concession area was reduced to 200,000 acres but an Addendum to the Revised Timber Concession Agreement reduced the concession area to 300,000 acres. The M.L.C. was forced to cede a large portion of its 500,000 acres concession area to the Liberian Logging & Wood Processing Company (see below).

The M.L.C. is actually owned by Dutch investors the "B.V. Compagnie Commerciale, Amsterdam" (C.C.H.A.). In 1973 was created the "Maryland Wood Processing Industries" which is 51% owned by the Dutch owners of M.L.C., 20% owned by the F.M.O. (a Dutch Development Bank), 20% owned by the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment, and 9% by a private investor. In 1976 was created the Maryland Veneer Industries. This company is 40.6% owned by the Dutch parent company of the M.L.C., 9.4% by the L.B.D.I., 20% by the Dutch F.M.O., and 30% by private Spanish investors.

4. The original concession agreement of September 5, 1962, granted the company a concession area of 13,288 acres located in the Tchien District of the Eastern Province. The agreement was revised on April 29, 1970 (virtually like the "Model Timber Concession Agreement" which was to be introduced in 1973) and granted a total concession area of 306,100 acres, located in Nimba and Grand Gedeh Counties:

- South Gio Area: 40,500 acres
- Gbi National Forest Area: 150,600 acres

- Between the Cavalla river and the Tappeta-Tchien motor road; 85,000 acres.

- Toe Town Concession Area: 30,000 acres.

Part of this area (98,288 acres) was assigned in 1970 to Fynhout West Africa Inc. (see below - Cavalla Timber Company). In 1972 M.I.M. signed a management contract with the owners of the Cavalla Timber Company. Three years later, in 1975, M.I.M. concluded a Management Contract with Forestière Africaine des Transports, Libéria, Inc. (F.A.T.). (This company also had a Management Contract with the Zekeh Industrial Corporation to manage the latter's Forest Concession comprising 52,300 acres. The Zekeh Industrial Corporation, however, is an example of a company which ceased its operations in the year it started them: 1974).

5. The Forest Products Utilization Contract for Salvage Areas which was signed September 13, 1963 between Lorenze Bolado Romate, a Spanish investor and the Liberian Government granted the former a concession area of 32,800 acres in the Salala District of the Central Province, for three years with right for renegotiation. The agreement was renewed on April 29, 1970 ("standard"): virtually like the 1973 Model Timber Concession Agreement.
6. The Concession Agreement was signed on December 28, 1966. The Company, owned by a Liberian, Samuel B. Cooper Sr., was granted a Concession area of 161,800 acres of which 91,800 acres within the Gio and North Gio National Forest and 70,000 acres in the unreserved forest lying within Tappeta District (Nimba County). On November 23, 1968 the Talk Lumber Company assigned its rights to the Nimba Logging Company. In exchange for the concession rights of the Talk Lumber Company its owner, Samuel B. Cooper Sr., received 33 1/3 % of the shares of the Nimba Logging Company. The other (two) owners of this company were a Liberian, Allen Williams, and a Frenchman, Shanry Philippe le Flanche. The Assignment Agreement was cancelled after a decision of the Liberian Supreme Court (February 17, 1971) following a court case ("fraud") Talk vs. Nimbaco in that year. In 1975 and 1976 Talk Lumber Company's operations were suspended owing to large arrears in its payments to the Liberian Government (for the Reforestation Fund). At the end of 1977 the company claimed a concession area of 486,695 acres - which was recognized by the Liberian Government - but no documents were found to substantiate this claim.

The Talk Lumber Company mortgaged its rights in this area to obtain a loan from the Bank of Liberia and the "Delta Timber Investment". The Liberian Government approved this mortgage deed on December 21, 1977.

7. The company had at the end of 1977 a sales-agreement with P.P.P. Timber Industries Ltd. which obliged it to sell to P.P.P. a minimum of 27,000 cubic meters of round logs per annum, at prices dependent upon average selling prices of export logs less selling expenses.
8. The Lofa Timber Company was granted a concession area of 49,000 acres of forest land, situated near the Putu Range, Grand Gedeh County, on April 28, 1968. In May 1974 it was discovered by the Minister of Finance that L.O.T.I.C.O. was operating illegally on 292,000 acres of land. An analysis of this situation proved a difficult case, partly as a result of a lack of coordination between Government agencies and greatly hampered by the lack of (complete) files. In December 1970 L.O.T.I.C.O. relinquished the entire area. However, no records are available to show whether the Liberian Government accepted the relinquishment. In 1973 the company claimed a total concession area of 292,000 acres which it had been given by the Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture under Survey Permits. However, neither an Addendum to the original concession agreement nor a valid new Concession agreement existed. For that reason the Minister of Finance, Stephen A. Tolbert, issued instructions (June, 1974) to halt the operations of the Company and to close it down. The timber company reacted through its counsellor, Richard A. Henriess, and on June 26, 1974 the President of Liberia, William Tolbert, intervened personally and allowed the company to resume its operations. When the following year L.O.T.I.C.O. failed to install a sawmill in keeping with its concession agreement the company was fined. The owners subsequently proposed the installation of a sawmill for a wood processing company (the "Lofa Lumber Processing Corporation") for which they asked duty free privileges. The Liberian Government granted this request. The company ceased operations in August 1977 and the (French) management left the concession without paying the employees, and without paying the Government over \$ 100,000 it owed them for stumpage fees and land rentals.
9. The concession agreement was signed on November 30, 1968 between the Government and the Dutch company, Maatschappij de Fynhouthandel N.V. (Amsterdam).

- The company was granted a concession area *"totalling not less than 275,000 acres and not more than 325,000 acres in a forest area known as the Northern Portion of the Krahn Bassa Forest"* (Art. 3 of the 1968 agreement). The term of the agreement was 20 years with an option of another 15 years. On September 26, 1970 the "Maatschap-
pij de Fynhouthandel N.V." and M.I.M. Timber Company signed a Joint Venture Agreement. The Joint Venture Company which was created was named "Fynhout West Africa" (F.W.A.). M.I.M. Timber Company assigned to F.W.A. 98,288 acres of its concession area (13,288 acres around Zwedru and 85,000 acres between the Cavalla River and the Tappita-Tchien Motor Road) comprising its Cavalla Forest Concession Area (agreement dated September 25, 1970). In 1972 "Fynhout Amsterdam" was taken over by "Tower Assets", an English company. The latter was bought in the same year by "Namal Investments Establishments of Vaduz, Liechtenstein", which company also purchased from M.I.M. their \$ 400,000 controlling interest in Fynhout West Africa Inc. Namal on November 30, 1972 signed a management contract with M.I.M. for the management by M.I.M. of Namal's holding in Fynhout West Africa Inc. whose registered name was changed to Cavalla Timber Company. According to a Memo from E. Jones (Concession Secretariat) to the Cavalla Timber Company (Memo not dated) the latter was involved in a land dispute regarding the 98,288 acres mentioned above. The disputed area was also claimed by two (sic !) other timber companies: the International Wood Company and Vanply of Liberia, Inc.
10. On June 7, 1968 L.E.T.C.O. was for 20 years granted timber exploitation rights on 75,000 acres in Grand Gedeh County ("the Old P. Dork Option Area"). Judging by the files of the Concessions Secretariat, however, the company also operated on 83,400 acres in an area between the Cestos and Sehnwehn rivers (Sinoe County). On May 12, 1970 another concession agreement was concluded which apparently replaced the 1968 agreement though this was not explicitly stated. The term of the agreement was 20 years with a possible extension by another 15 years. The concession area granted was 400,000 acres, and located in Grand Gedeh County. According to a statement of the company's lawyer in 1975 (Toye Bernard working for Richard A. Henries Law Firm) the 1968 agreement was terminated in December 1972 whereas L.E.T.C.O. had relinquished 16,800 acres on December 31, 1970 and another 22,800 acres on December 21, 1971.

However, in 1975 the company was still paying land rental for the remaining 35,400 acres of the 75,000 acres (concessions) area of the 1968 agreement. In 1973 L.E.T.C.O. claimed a concession area of 35,900 acres located in the "Old P. Dork Option Area", a further 83,400 acres in Sinoe County and 400,000 acres in Grand Gedeh County. After a dispute with Bell Timber Company L.E.T.C.O. was compelled to relinquish 32,800 acres of its concession area to the former in 1977. This was not the only case of a boundary conflict with other logging companies. On October 4, 1978 the company's management wrote to its lawyer and co-shareholder (25%) Richard A. Henries: *"Out of the 400,000 acres of our main Concession Area (...) between 1977 and 1978, we lost the following acres either at the instance of the Forestry Development Authority or by the illegal trespassing of the following companies: Bell Timber Corporation was given 32,270 acres by the Forestry Development Authority; the Liberian Palm Products Company (Agrimeco) was given 10,000 by the Forestry Development Authority; United Logging Company logged 30,000 acres illegally; N.A.C.A. logged 30,000 acres illegally; M.A.C.A.R.S. logged 5,000 acres illegally; and local farmers farmed 50,000 acres over the past eight years, making a total of 157,270 acres of our initial Concession Area that we have lost to other concessionaires."* According to a Memorandum of the Concessions Secretariat ("1978 Surface Rentals - Forest Concession"), dated January 12, 1978, L.E.T.C.O. held 558,400 acres under its contract with the Liberian Government.

11. The original concession agreement (April 29, 1970) granted 29,000 acres in the Northeastern portion of the Gie National Forest (Tappita, Lower Nimba County). Apparently this was changed later into a concession area of 341,000 acres though no documents could be found with respect to this revision of the 1970 concession agreement.
12. The concession agreement of February 24, 1970 was signed for a period of 20 years and entitled to a renewal for a further period of 15 years. The 316,400 acres concession area was located in Grand Gedeh County. On December 30, 1975 the L.L.W.P.C. acquired by "Addendum" an additional forest area of 179,300 acres in the same county: the northern portion of the Grebo National Forest between the Cavalla and the Dougbe Rivers. This portion made up a total of 500,000 acres of primary species forest land held by the Maryland Logging Company.

M.L.C. was therefore requested by the Government to select and demarcate 300,000 acres of the entire area for its concession and the company subsequently relinquished the remaining area (see note 3). Expatriate employees of M.L.C. alleged that it was owing to the involvement of President Tolbert in the L.L.W.P.C. that their company lost a considerable portion of its concession area which was then given to L.L.W.P.C. However, no documents were found which confirm this alleged personal interest of President Tolbert in this logging company.

13. The concession agreement of April 30, 1970 was the last one signed during the Tubman Administration and granted a concession area of 1,139,900 acres of forest land. Area "A" (201,000 acres) in Grand Bassa County, Area "B" (138,900) located within Sinoe County and River Cess Territory, and Area "C" (800,000 acres) lying between the Morro and Lofa Rivers (within Lofa and Grand Cape Mount Counties. The concessionaire, the Lofa River Cess Lumber Company (whose President was Ernest Liberty - see note last column) assigned the concession to a French company, A. Charles & Fils, on August 8, 1973. In november of the same year Area "C" was given back to the Government. The latter, by a decision of President Tolbert waived \$ 193,663.36 of accumulated arrears of the company (surface rentals) as a compensation. In August 1974 it was discovered that 15,630 acres of the timber concession area overlapped the concession area of the Firestone Plantation Company along the Sehnewehn River in Sinoe County. As Firestone's concession was older, the Lofa-River Cess Lumber Corporation was forced to relinquish this area. It is interesting to note that this concession agreement still had not been approved by the National Legislature in 1976.
14. The P.P.P. Timber Industries Ltd. is not a logging company but had concluded a Timber Processing Agreement with the Liberian Government which gave it the right to purchase and process timber and other forest products. On January 16, 1974 an Investment Inventive Agreement was signed with the Government (based on the Investment Incentive Code of 1966 as modified in 1973). P.P.P. Timber Company is operated by Jos Hansen and Soehne (Liberia) Ltd. The name of the company refers to Pyntown, Penoken and Putu Ranges. P.P.P. is located about 10 miles south-east of Zwedru (Grand Gedeh County).
15. The Bell Timber Company is operating in a rich forest area with the most valuable tree species of Liberia.

In 1977 the company exported 10,433 cubic meters of processed wood, i.e. 24% of all Liberian processed wood exports, and held no.1 position as Liberia's biggest exporter of processed wood. At the end of 1977 the company had invested \$ 1.7 million. Accumulated depreciation amounted to \$ 1.2 million. Book value was therefore \$ 0.5 million. Total sales during the period 1974 to 1977 amounted to \$ 8.6 million. In the first year of production, 1974, the rate of return was 33.6%. However, the company's General Manager in a letter to the Chairman of the Commission of Investment Incentives, dated May 29, 1978 claimed that *"Up to 31st December 1977 the company had always traded at a loss"*. The concession agreement was signed on July 20, 1973 and granted a concession area of 130,000 acres (Area "A") in the Putu Chiefdom in Grand Gedeh County, bordering the Grebo National Forest. The option Area "B", 101,200 acres in Maryland County, was made part of the concession area by the First Addendum to the Forest Products Utilization Contract entered into by and between the Liberian Government and Bell Timber Company (dated August 8, 1973). On September 16, 1977 a Second Addendum added an area of 42,600 acres: 29,400 acres west of the Grebo National Forest and 13,200 acres in the Territory of Nipa. Early 1978 the concession area was reduced as it had been found out that the area granted west of the Grebo National Forest (29,400 acres) overlapped another company's concession area.

16. This company provides an example of the Liberian Government's failure adequately to keep records. The file in the Concession Secretariat on this company was found empty.
17. In 1974 a management contract was concluded between the Dunbar Logging Corporation and "Showden Corporation" (the country of origin of this managing company is not known).
18. The concession agreement of July 20, 1973 was followed on December 26 of the same year by a Management Agreement (for 20 years) between the concessionaire/logging company, and Leila Enterprises, Ltd., a company created November 14, 1973 by Lebanese businessmen. The concession is located near Toe Town (Grand Gedeh County). In July 1976 the Government closed down the company for failure to meet the settlement terms of its obligations with respect to the Liberian Treasury. The company re-opened October 5 of that year but the Minister of Finance, J.T. Philips had it closed down again on October 27. (The agreement was finally cancelled by the Government on February 28, 1979 - owing to a continual failure to pay).

19. Original concession area was 53,000 acres in Grand Gedeh County. An Addendum to the concession agreement of May 14, 1973 (dated May 1, 1974) added to the company's concession area the so-called Barowobo Area (Maryland County) consisting of 105,000 acres. On April 21, 1978 N.A.C.A. assigned its rights to Gabriel Doe (Liberian).
20. The concessionaire was early 1974 granted an area of 10,500 acres in Grand Gedeh County (Area "A") and an area of 62,000 acres in the same county (Area "B"). The concession agreement mentioned as total concession area 74,500 acres. In May of the same year Area "A" was changed into 18,500 acres and Area "B" into 56,000 acres. This change had become imperative after it was discovered that the International Wood Corporation had been assigned a concession area which had been already assigned to another concessionaire (MIM Cavalla Co.).
21. An Ivorian who held 35% of the shares of this Lofa Lumber Corporation, Mausso Ernest, was also one of the (three) main shareholders in the Liberian-Ivorian Logging Company. A management contract was concluded with the Mecca Logging Corporation (a Lebanese-owned corporation).

ANNEX 19 (continued)

"LIBERIAN ADVISOR/LAWYER/SHAREHOLDER"

(Family Relationships and Positions Held, Past and Present)

- (a) George A. Padmore
 - Grandson of President Arthur Barclay
 - Brother-in-Law of President Tubman
 - Married to the former Minister of Health, Mai Wiles Padmore
 - Ambassador to the U.S.A.
 - Ambassador-at-Large
 - President, Liberia Amusements, Ltd. (sole distributor of films in Liberia)
 - President, Lofa Construction Company
 - President, Lofa Logging Corporation
 - President, N.I.O.C.
- (b) Joshua L. Harmon
 - Son of H. Lafayette Harmon (Former Senator, Grand Bassa County)
 - Senator, Grand Bassa County
 - Chairman, T.W.P., Grand Bassa County
- (c) Victoria Harmon
 - Wife of Joshua L. Harmon (see note (b))
- (d) Philip J.L. Brumskin
 - Personal and Private Secretary to President Tubman
 - Counsellor-at-Law (Gbarber Law Firm)
- (e) W.A. Tubman
 - Cousin of President Tubman
- (f) Richard A. Henries
 - Former husband of Angie Brooks
 - Former husband of Doris Banks
 - Speaker of the House of Representatives
 - Representative, Montserrado County
 - Legal Advisor, True Whig Party
 - President, National Bar Association of Liberia
 - Legal Advisor to LAMCO, LMC, Firestone Plantations Company, the Bank of Monrovia and others
- (g) G. Flama Sherman
 - Minister of Education
 - Ambassador
 - County Superintendent
- (h) E. Jonathan Goodridge
 - Secretary of National Defense
 - Minister of Local Government, Rural Development and Urban Reconstruction
 - National Chairman, The True Whig Party
 - Shareholder, Bank of Liberia
- (i) Robert Azango
 - Associate Justice of the Supreme Court
 - Secretary to the Speaker of the House of Representatives
- (j) Samuel B. Cooper
 - (Acting) Secretary of State
- (k) C. Cecil Dennis
 - Son of Charles C. Dennis, Sr., Representative, Bomi Territory
 - Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - Owner, C. Cecil Dennis Law Firm
 - Lawyer for Mesurado Group of Companies

ANNEX 19 (continued)

"LIBERIAN ADVISOR/LAWYER/SHAREHOLDER"

(Family Relationships and Positions Held, Past and Present)

- (l) H.W. Badio -Liberian of tribal origin; no other information available
- (m) Alfred Sayeh -Assistant Minister of Agriculture
- (n) William R. Tolbert -President of Liberia
- (o) Ernest Liberty -Senator, Lofa County
- (p) James A. Green -Vice-President of Liberia
- (q) Lavoisier A. Tubman -Nephew of President William Tubman
- (r) E. Dunbar -Member of the well known Dunbar clan
- (s) A.B. Tolbert -Son of President and Mrs. William Tolbert
-Married Daisy Delafosse, adopted daughter of President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast
-Ambassador-at-Large
-Owner, Tolbert Law Firm
- (t) Albert White -Chief of Staff, Liberian Army
- (u) Toye Bernard -One of the relatively few examples of Liberians of tribal origin who was adopted and accepted by the Americo-Liberian community. He grew up in the family of Mrs. Susan Berry, a companion of President Barclay and mayoress of Congotown and received his law degree, in French, in Geneva. Among his credentials are:
-Associate, Henries Law firm
-Dean, Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law, University of Liberia
- (v) Joseph N. Togba -Father-in-law of Alfred Sayeh (see note m)
-Director General, National Public Health Service
-Owner, Kitoma Mining and Trading Company (see Chapter 8)
- (w) Christian A. Baker -Married Amelia Dunbar
-Veterinarian
-President, Cuttington College
- (x) Gabriel Doe -Another example of a Liberian of tribal origin who succeeded in establishing firm relations with the country's political elite. In 1978 he married Carmenia Pierre, widow of Stephen Tolbert. Gabriel Doe's parents, from Grand Bassa County, reportedly, raised Samuel K. Doe, from the Krahn tribe, as a foster child. Samuel K. Doe seized power in Liberia in a military coup in 1980 (see Addendum, pp. 459-460)

ANNEX 19 (continued)

"LIBERIAN ADVISOR/LAWYER/SHAREHOLDER"

(Family Relationships and Positions Held, Past and Present)

- (y) Stephen S. Togba -No pertinent information available
- (z) William E. Ward -No pertinent information available
- (aa) Taylor Major -Chairman, Public Utilities Authority (P.U.A.)
- (bb) Fred Ryan -No pertinent information available
- (cc) Samuel T. Voker -Representative, Nimba County
- (dd) Alfred D. Harris -Director General, General Supplies Agency (G.S.A.)
-Owner, Monrovia Airlines
- (ee) Edwin Williams -Son of Allen H. Williams, former Minister of Defense
-Nephew of Lawrence Morgan, former Minister of Justice
-Minister of Finance
- (ff) V. Marbue Dennis -Son of William E. Dennis, Sr, former Secretary of the Treasury
-Brother of William E. Dennis, Jr., Minister of Commerce, Industry and Transportation
-General Treasurer, True Whig Party
- (gg) Carmenia Pierre -Daughter of James A.A. Pierre, Chief Justice
Tolbert -Widow of Stephen A. Tolbert, Minister of Finance
-Married Gabriel Dow (see note x)
- (hh) Gbarzuo Toweh -Representative, Nimba County

Source:

- Author's research based on
- Cole; undated, pp. 211-279
- Richardson: 1959, pp. 279-296
- Naidoo: 1962, pp. 335-352
- Adighibe: 1971, pp. 230-297
- Draper: undated, pp. 33-57
- Miscellaneous articles, newspapers etc.

ANNEX 20

SOME LOGGING COMPANIES OF LESS IMPORTANCE

<u>Name of Company</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Concession Area</u>	<u>Liberian Advisor/ Lawyer/ Shareholder</u>	<u>Nationality of Investor</u>
1. Lofa Logging Corp.	1970	295,000 ¹	George Padmore ^a	Liberian
2. Wanta Enterprises Inc.	1973	65,000	Martin Y. Kromeh ^b Keihura Kpoto ^c	Liberian
3. National Logging Co.	1973	34,800	Gabriel Doe ^d	Liberian
4. Tropical Farm Corp.	1973	200,000	William E. Ward ^e	Liberian
5. Bushrod Logging Corp.	1973	71,600	M. Dukuly ^f Victoria E. Dukuly ^g	Liberian
6. Zekeh Industrial Corp. Inc.	1974	52,300	Peter G. Dorliae ^h	Liberian
7. Bondi Timber Corp.	1974	62,400	Robert G.W. Azango ⁱ	Liberian
8. Gbehlay Fair Logging Corp.	1975	45,600	Daniel F. Tolbert ^j	Lebanese
9. Tripple Enterprises	1973	205,000	Alfred Sayeh ^k	Liberian
10. Brazilian Afro Logging Company	1973	122,400	Alfred Sayeh	Liberian
11. Tropical Trading Co.	?	26,000	-	L.M.C.
12. Mecca Logging Co.	1974	18,000		Lebanese
13. United Logging Co.	1974	140,500		Lebanese
14. Matro Logging Co.	1974	173,300	Harrison Grigsby ^l Edwina Greene ^m	Liberian
15. Yakura Enterprises Inc.	1975	171,000	James Y. Gbarbea ⁿ	Liberian
16. Getumba Logging Co.	1975	180,000	Robert Francis Okai Jr. ^o J. Jenkins Peal ^p Seymour Dorley ^q	Liberian
17. West Africa Timber Industries Inc.	1975	397,000	?	Senegalese
18. St. Paul River Logging Corp.	1975	136,400	-	Liberian

Note: 1. Relinquished 120,000 acres in 1974.

Source: Concessions Secretariat, Ministry of Finance, Monrovia.

ANNEX 20 (continued)

"LIBERIAN ADVISOR/LAWER/SHAREHOLDER"

(Family Relationships and Positions Held, Past and Present)

- (a) George Padmore -See Annex 19, note (a)
- (b) Martin Y. Kromeh -Assistant Minister for Administration,
Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs
-Managing Director, Liberian Water and
Sewage Corporation
- (c) Keihura Kpoto -Representative, Lofa County
- (d) Gabriel Doe -See Annex 19, note (x)
- (e) William E. Ward -See Annex 19, note (z)
- (f) M. Dukuly -Married to Victoria E. Dukuly
-Father of Mrs. Neh Dukuly Tolbert, second wife
of Stephen A. Tolbert
-Secretary of State
-Ambassador
-Advisor on International Affairs to President
William Tolbert
- (g) Victoria E. Dukuly -See note (f)
- (h) Peter G. Dorliae -Representative, Nimba County
- (i) Robert G.W. Azango -See Annex 19, note (i)
- (j) Daniel F. Tolbert -Cousin of President William Tolbert
-Owner of the country's largest rice importing
company
- (k) Alfred Sayeh -See Annex 19, note (m)
- (l) Harrison Grigsby -Secretary of the Interior
-Senator, Sinoe County
- (m) Edwina Greene -Daughter of James A. Green, see Annex 19, note (p)
- (n) James Y. Gbarbea -Minister of Lands and Mines
-Representative, Bong County
- (o) Robert Francis Okai, Jr. -Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
-Representative, Montserrado County
- (p) J. Jenkins Peal -Minister of Labour, Youth and Sports
-Minister of Postal Affairs
- (q) -No pertinent information available

Source:

- see source in Annex 19

ANNEX 21

BUDGETARY APPROPRIATIONS 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961

(in thousands of U.S. dollars)

	<u>1946</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>
I <u>General Administration:</u>	<u>759.7</u>	<u>1,566.2</u>	<u>5,467.1</u>	<u>8,730.2</u>
of which:				
(1) Justice Dept.	84.0	149.8	346.2	557.2
(2) Interior Dept.	56.8	100.4	187.9	193.1
(3) Treasury Dept.	223.8(A)	436.7(A)	750.1(B)	1,088.4(B)
(4) Lib. Info. Service	-	-	-	151.0
(5) Intern. relations	139.5	320.0	1,330.0	2,727.1
of which:				
-State Dept.	(27.0)	(114.4)(C)	(437.7)	(689.5)
-Diplomatic Missions Abroad	(60.2)(D)	(180.6)(E)	(653.0)(F)	(1,555.3)(G)
-Intern. Conferences	(52.3)	(25.0)	(100.0)	(200.0)
-Presidential Yacht(s)	(-)	(-)	(125.0)	(264.2)
-Guest Houses	(-)	(-)	(7.3)	(18.1)
(6) Security Forces of which	120.5(H)	282.8(I)	1,256.6(J)	2,186.2(K)
-War Dept.(L)	(13.5)	(28.7)	(45.9)	(99.2)
(7) General Government	105.4	134.6	1,363.6	1,609.6
(8) Misc.	29.7(M)	141.9(M)	432.7(N)	505.1(O)
II <u>The Chief Executive</u>	<u>60.9(P)</u>	<u>336.6(Q)</u>	<u>517.4(R)</u>	<u>534.5(S)</u>
III <u>The Legislature</u>	<u>79.4</u>	<u>159.7</u>	<u>373.3</u>	<u>469.1</u>
IV <u>The Judiciary</u>	<u>43.8</u>	<u>71.1</u>	<u>98.5</u>	<u>116.2</u>
V <u>Education</u>	<u>175.8(T)</u>	<u>254.9</u>	<u>1,460.0(U)</u>	<u>2,250.0(V)</u>
VI <u>Health</u>	<u>144.5(W)</u>	<u>452.1</u>	<u>1,266.6</u>	<u>1,845.2</u>
VII <u>Dept. of Public Works and Utilities</u>	<u>193.7(X)</u>	<u>403.4</u>	<u>1,624.3</u>	<u>978.7(Y)</u>
VIII <u>Dept. of Posts, Tel. & Tels.</u>	<u>87.7</u>	<u>154.2</u>	<u>320.6</u>	<u>574.9</u>
IX <u>Agriculture(Z)</u>	<u>43.1</u>	<u>91.9</u>	<u>154.9</u>	<u>383.6</u>
X <u>Debt Service</u>	<u>112.4</u>	<u>110.2</u>	<u>416.9</u>	<u>5,830.1</u>
XI <u>The Centennial</u>	<u>539.1(a)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
XII <u>9-Year Dev'tment Program</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2,960.0(b)</u>	<u>-</u>
XIII <u>Dev'tment Program Under Sponsorship of Joint C.</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>5,500.0(b)</u>
GRAND TOTAL(c)	<u>2,240.0(d)</u>	<u>3,600.0</u>	<u>14,859.3</u>	<u>27,500.0</u>

Footnotes:

- A. Includes also the Office of the Financier Adviser, the Bureau of Audits, the Bureau of Revenue and the Bureau of Civil Service.
- B. Includes (A) and also the Bureau of Customs, the Bureau of General Supplies, the Bureau of Mines and Geology and the Bureau of Government Housing.
- C. Includes \$ 6,721.52 for "The Liberian Age" (publication of the True Whig Party).
- D. Legations in Washington, London, Paris; Consulates in New York and in Liverpool.
- E. Washington Embassy, Paris Legation, and Consulates in London, Manchester, Liverpool and in New York.
- F. Embassies in: Washington, Paris, London, Madrid, Port au Prince, Bonn; Legations in: Beirut, The Hague, Rome; Consulates-General in: New York, Accra, Hamburg, Las Palmas, Jamaica; Consulates in: Manchester, Liverpool, Lagos, Freetown, Takoradi, Chicago, Los Angeles; Permanent Mission at the U.N.
- G. Embassies in: Washington, Paris, London, Madrid, Port au Prince, Bonn; Rome, The Hague, Accra, Tel-Aviv, Conakry, Addis Abeba, Cairo, Camerouns, Togolands, Freetown, Leopoldville, Dakar, Bamako; Legations in: Beirut, The Holy See; Consulates-General in: New York, London, Hamburg, Lagos, Abidjan, Las Palmas, Zürich, Jamaica, Los Angeles; Consulates in: Manchester, Liverpool, Kiel, Chicago, Takoradi, N'Zerekore; Permanent Mission to the U.N.
- H. Liberian Frontier Force only, but includes \$ 6,300.00 appropriated for the L.F.F. under "Centennial Celebration".
- I. Liberian Frontier Force plus Bureau of Police.
- J. Includes \$ 200,000.00 for Public Relations Officers, appropriated under "the Chief Executive".
- K. Includes the Liberian Frontier Force, the National Police Force; includes also "Internal Security" (\$ 225,000.00), P.R.O's (\$ 287,526.50), and "Special Intelligence" (\$ 100,000.00) appropriated under "Justice" resp. "The Chief Justice", resp. "General Government".
- L. Renamed in 1955 and hence called the Department of National Defense.
- M. Includes the Bureau of Labour, The Election Commission, County Executives, and Commonwealth Districts, Municipalities, Townships, and Settlements.
- N. Includes (L) and inauguration Expenses (\$ 150,000.00)

- O. Includes (L) and \$ 164,831.50 appropriated under "The Chief Executive" for the Bureau of the Budget, the Bureau of Economic Research, and the Office of the Vice-President.
- P. Includes the Office of the Vice-President.
- Q. Includes (P) plus P.R.O's.
- R. Includes (P) but excludes P.R.O's (see note J).
- S. Excludes (1) the Office of the Vice-President and (2) the P.R.O's (see notes K and O).
- T. Includes \$ 66,000.00 appropriated for Education under "Centennial Celebration".
- U. Includes the National Sports & Athletics Commission.
- V. Includes (U) and \$ 100,000.00 ("Furniture County Schools") from "General Government".
- W. Includes \$ 6,000.00 appropriated for "Public Health and Sanitation" under "Centennial Celebration".
- X. Includes \$ 6,000.00 appropriated for "Roads" under "Centennial Celebration" but excludes the remodelling of the Executive Mansion etc. appropriated for under "Centennial Celebration".
- Y. Includes \$ 75,000.00 from "General Government" ("Maintenance Robertsfield"); excludes the Water Filtration Plant which has been included in "Health".
- Z. The Bureau of Agriculture was part of the Department of Public Work and Utilities until 1948 when a Department of Agriculture and Commerce was created. Figures for 1951, 1956 and 1961 include amounts appropriated for "Commerce".
- (a). Exclusive of amounts reported under Security Forces (see note H), Education (note T), Health (note W), and Public Work and Utilities (note X).
- (b). Not specified in the Budgets for 1956, resp. 1961.
- (c). Differences due to rounding.
- (d). Includes the Supplementary Budget 1946.

Source:

Author's research based on the
-Budgets for 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961 as enacted by the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia and as published by the Bureau of the Budget, Monrovia, Liberia.

ANNEX 22

Imports, Duty Free Imports and Potential Revenues lost as a result of
Duty Free Privileges Granted 1975 - 1979 By SITC Group
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

<u>S.I.T.C. GROUP</u>	1 9 7 5					Potential Revenues Lost (Est.) ¹
	Total Value (1)	Dutiable Value (2)	Duty Free Value (3)	(3) as % of (1) (4)	Duty Collected (5)	
Food and Live Animals	38.6	32.2	6.4	16.6	3.8	0.8
Beverages and Tobacco	6.2	5.4	0.8	12.9	6.1	0.9
Crude Materials, Inedible except fuel	3.0	0.2	2.8	93.3	-	n.a. ²
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials	48.3	1.2	47.1	97.5	0.1	3.9
Animal & Vegetable Oils and Fat	1.1	0.7	0.3	27.3	-	n.a. ²
Chemicals	22.0	5.7	16.3	74.1	1.8	5.1
Manufactured Goods classified by Material	70.2	27.6	42.6	60.7	6.0	9.3
Machinery and Transport Equipment	115.7	20.4	95.3	82.4	4.7	22.0
Misc. Manufactured Articles	22.0	13.1	8.9	40.5	4.7	3.2
Commodities and Transactions Not Classified According To Kind	4.1	0.4	3.7	90.2	0.1	0.9
TOTAL C.I.F.	331.2 =====	107.0 =====	224.2 =====	67.7 =====	27.4 =====	46.1 =====

cont'd Annex 22

<u>S.I.T.C. GROUP</u>	1 9 7 6					Potential Revenues Lost (Est.) ¹
	Total Value (1)	Dutiable Value (2)	Duty Free Value (3)	(3) as % of (1) (4)	Duty Collected (5)	
Food and Live Animals	41.8	36.2	5.6	13.4	5.0	0.8
Beverages and Tobacco	7.3	6.6	0.7	9.5	7.4	0.8
Crude Materials, Inedible except fuel	4.8	1.0	3.8	79.2	0.6	2.3
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials	59.5	1.6	57.9	97.3	0.1	3.6
Animal & Vegetable Oils and Fat	1.8	1.0	0.8	44.4	0.1	0.1
Chemicals	24.5	7.2	17.3	70.6	2.0	4.8
Manufactured Goods classified by Material	79.5	35.3	44.2	55.6	7.4	9.3
Machinery and Transport Equipment	152.2	23.7	128.5	84.4	5.6	30.4
Misc. Manufactured Articles	24.4	16.5	7.9	32.4	6.2	3.0
Commodities and Transactions Not Classified According To Kind	3.4	0.4	3.0	88.2	0.1	0.8
TOTAL C.I.F.	399.2 =====	129.5 =====	269.7 =====	67.6 =====	34.5 =====	55.9 =====

cont'd Annex 22

<u>S.I.T.C. GROUP</u>	1 9 7 7					Potential Revenues Lost (Est.) ¹
	Total Value (1)	Dutiable Value (2)	Duty Free Value (3)	(3)as % of (1) (4)	Duty Collected (5)	
Food and Live Animals	56.8	48.4	8.4	14.8	6.5	1.1
Beverages and Tobacco	10.3	9.7	0.6	5.8	12.1	0.7
Crude Materials, Inedible except fuel	4.8	1.2	3.6	75.0	0.7	2.1
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials	68.9	1.9	67.0	97.2	0.3	10.6
Animal & Vegetable Oils and Fat	2.1	1.3	0.8	38.1	0.1	0.1
Chemicals	29.5	8.6	20.9	70.8	2.4	5.8
Manufactured Goods classified by Material	97.0	47.0	50.0	52.5	10.3	11.2
Machinery and Transport Equipment	156.6	40.1	116.5	74.4	9.5	27.6
Misc. Manufactured Articles	34.0	24.5	9.5	27.9	9.2	3.6
Commodities and Transactions Not Classified According To Kind	3.5	0.6	2.9	82.9	0.1	0.5
TOTAL C.I.F.	463.5 =====	183.3 =====	280.2 =====	60.5 =====	51.2 =====	63.3 =====

cont'd Annex 22

	1 9 7 8					Potential
<u>S.I.T.C. GROUP</u>	Total Value (1)	Dutiable Value (2)	Duty Free Value (3)	(3)as % of (1) (4)	Duty Collected (5)	Revenues Lost (Est.) ¹ (6)
Food and Live Animals	66.9	50.7	16.2	24.2	7.0	2.2
Beverages and Tobacco	11.7	10.5	1.0	8.5	13.3	1.3
Crude Materials, Inedible except fuel	4.4	1.9	2.5	56.8	1.0	1.3
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials	84.6	2.7	81.9	96.8	0.4	12.1
Animal & Vegetable Oils and Fat	2.9	1.7	1.2	41.4	0.2	0.1
Chemicals	31.1	10.4	20.7	66.6	3.0	6.0
Manufactured Goods classified by Material	91.9	52.7	39.2	42.7	13.4	10.0
Machinery and Transport Equipment	156.6	51.4	105.2	67.2	13.2	27.0
Misc. Manufactured Articles	26.7	18.5	8.2	30.7	8.5	3.8
Commodities and Transactions Not Classified According To Kind	4.0	0.6	3.4	85.0	0.2	1.1
TOTAL C.I.F.	480.9 =====	201.1 =====	279.5 =====	58.1 =====	60.2 =====	64.9 =====

cont'd Annex 22

<u>S.I.T.C. GROUP</u>	1 9 7 9					Potential Revenues Lost (Est.) ¹
	Total Value (1)	Dutiable Value (2)	Duty Free Value (3)	(3) as % of (1) (4)	Duty Collected (5)	
Food and Live Animals	77.4	57.2	20.2	26.1	7.7	2.7
Beverages and Tobacco	11.8	10.9	0.9	7.6	12.4	1.0
Crude Materials, Inedible except fuel	6.1	3.0	3.1	50.8	1.0	1.0
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants and Related Materials	103.2	3.4	99.8	96.7	0.5	14.7
Animal & Vegetable Oils and Fat	3.0	2.8	0.2	6.7	0.4	-
Chemicals	34.1	13.2	20.9	61.3	3.3	5.2
Manufactured Goods classified by Material	74.6	44.6	30.0	40.2	11.4	7.7
Machinery and Transport Equipment	169.6	54.9	114.7	67.6	13.8	28.8
Misc. Manufactured Articles	24.1	16.6	7.5	31.1	7.7	3.5
Commodities and Transactions Not Classified According To Kind	2.6	0.4	2.2	84.6	0.1	0.6
TOTAL C.I.F.	506.5 =====	207.0 =====	299.5 =====	59.1 =====	58.3 =====	65.2 =====

Notes: ¹ Column (6) = $\frac{\text{Column (3)}}{\text{Column (2)}} \times \text{Column (5)}$

² The tariff applicable in this case was not available. Consequently, the amount of potential revenues lost could not be calculated. Since the amounts of imports concerned here are relatively small, their impact on the total is also of little importance.

Source: Author's research based on Economic Surveys of Liberia 1976, 1978 and 1979 (14 PEA).

ANNEX 23

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES UNDER THE 1967 - 1970 DEVELOPMENT PLAN
BY SECTOR. (in thousands of U.S. dollars).

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1 Agriculture	10,293	10.5
2 Transportation	36,473	37.1
3 Communication	1,431	1.5
4 Public Utilities	23,927	24.3
5 Natural Resources	7,514	7.7
6 Education	9,107	9.3
7 Public Health	8,958	9.2
8 Other Services	390	0.4
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>98,093</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: Four Year Plan For Economic and Social Development,
Table 3.2, p. 25.

ANNEX 24

FINANCING OF EXPENDITURES UNDER THE 1967 - 1970 DEVELOPMENT PLAN
(in millions of U.S. dollars¹)

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Budget Appropriation</u>	<u>Other Domestic Sources</u> ²	<u>Total Domestic Sources</u>	<u>External Assistance</u>
Agriculture	5.6	1.5	7.5	3.2
Transportation	7.1	4.4	11.4	25.1
Communications	1.0	0.1	1.1	0.3
Public Utilities	1.8	3.3	5.1	18.9
Natural Resources	2.6	-	2.6	5.0
Education	6.0	-	6.0	3.2
Public Health	4.5	-	4.5	4.4
Other Services	0.3	-	0.3	0.1
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>28.7</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>38.0</u>	<u>60.1</u>

Notes: 1 Rounded figures; totals may not add up due to rounding.
2 Includes private sector contribution to public or semi-public investment programmes.

Source: See Annex 23.

ANNEX 25

COMPOSITION OF LIBERIA'S DIRECT EXTERNAL DEBT¹

(in millions of U.S. dollars)

<u>Source/Agency</u>	<u>Number of Loans</u>	<u>Original Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Outstanding Balance</u>	<u>%</u>
A. BILATERAL	<u>56</u>	<u>301.8</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>146.8</u>	<u>48</u>
U.S.A. ²	38	150.7	24	98.9	32
F.R.G.	8	52.1	8	19.0	6
Japan ³	2	28.6	4	8.6	3
People's Rep. of China	1	23.0	4	-	-
Saoudi Arabia	2	20.0	3	2.8	1
Taiwan	2	9.9	2	9.3	3
Italy	1	9.4	2	8.0	3
Kuwait	1	7.5	1	-	-
U.K.	1	0.6	-	0.2	-
B. MULTILATERAL	<u>28</u>	<u>176.2</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>63.4</u>	<u>21</u>
I.B.R.D.	8	69.3	11	25.3	8
I.D.A.	8	44.0	7	14.9	5
A.D.B.	6	25.1	4	44.5	2
I.M.F.	1	14.9	2	14.9	5
C.D.C	1	7.1	1	0.2	-
E.E.C.	1	6.0	1	-	-
Arab League	1	3.6	1	3.6	1
B.A.D.E.A.	1	3.2	-	-	-
OPEC Fund	1	3.0	2	-	-
C. COMMERCIAL BANKS	<u>10</u>	<u>129.7</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>83.9</u>	<u>28</u>
Eurodollar Market	1	60.0	9	36.0	12
U.S. Banks	5	41.4	7	37.8	12
U.K. Banks	3	23.3	4	5.1	2
F.R.G. Banks	1	5.0	1	5.0	2
D. SUPPLIERS CREDIT	<u>4</u>	<u>18.7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>3</u>
Norway	2	11.3	1.8	9.7	3
Sweden	1	6.4	1.0	-	-
U.K.	1	1.0	0.2	0.7	-
GRAND TOTAL	<u>98</u>	<u>626.4</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>304.5</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Footnotes: 1. As of March 31, 1979.

2. Includes Exim-Bank (U.S.A.)

3. Includes Exim-Bank (Japan)

Source: Finance Bulletin, Volume I, no. I, p. 12.

ANNEX 26

TERMS OF LOANS CONTRACTED JULY 1, 1976 -DEC. 31, 1978

Date Signed	US \$ Amount	Source	Term Yrs.	Grace Period Yrs.	Interest rate	Commitment fee	Maturity date	PURPOSE OF LOAN
A. 1977								
Jan. 11	30,000,000.00	Euro-dollar I	7	2	2% above LIBOR	3/4%	Jan. 11 1987	Finance Capital Requirements of Public Corporations
March 5	2,064,000.00	A.D.B.	5	2	7%	3/4%	Jan. 1 1992	L.B.D.I. Credit Expansion
Aug. 30	4,949,280.00	Midland Bank ¹	5	2	9%	-0-	1982	Hawker Siddley Airplane
Sept. 3	500,000.00	U.S.A.	4	1	fluctuating	-0-	1981	Military Assistance
Sept. 15	5,500,000.00	Samos Glory ¹	2	1½	1 3/4% above LIBOR	3/4%	1979	Shipping Industry
Sept. 16	6,000,000.00	A.D.B.	20	4	8%	3/4%	1992	Tuban Bridge-Boni road
Oct. 12	500,000.00	U.S.A.	4	1	fluctuating	-0-	1981	Military Assistance
1978								
Jan. 23	2,600,000.00	A.D.B.	17	3	8%	3/4%	1995	Monrovia Water Supply
April 30	2,587,150.00	City Bank	7	2	1 3/4% above LIBOR	3/4%	1985	Boeing Aircraft
May 31	7,800,000.00	City Bank	7	2	1 3/4% above LIBOR	3/4%	1985	Agripeco
May 31	10,000,000.00	City Bank	7	2	1 3/4% above LIBOR	3/4%	1985	Matadi(Housing)
June 2	11,543,850.00	City Bank/ Exim-Bank	10	0	8 5/8% & 1 3/4% above LIBOR	3/4%	1988	Boeing Aircraft
June 12	3,900,000.00	B.A.D.E.A. ¹	13	3	7%	½%	1991	4th Power
June 14	3,200,000.00	B.A.D.E.A.	14	4	5%	½%	1992	LIFZA Expansion
July 14	9,000,000.00	Manufacturers	9	2	7½%	½%	1987	Hotel Africa
July 18	7,500,000.00	Kuwait	18	4	3½%	-0-	1996	Road Rehabilitation
Aug. 9 ³	15,000,000.00	Chemical Bank	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	L.R.R.C. Acquisition
Sept. 27 ²	5,000,000.00	A.D.B. ¹	n.a.	n.a.	8%	3/4%	n.a.	Forestry
Nov. 9	60,000,000.00	Euro-dollar II ⁴	8	2 & 3	1 5/8% above LIBOR	n.a.	1986	Refinancing Development ⁴
Dec. 19	3,000,000.00	O.P.E.C.	20	2	4 3/4%	-0-	1998	4 th Highway
1976								
July 6	3,000,000.00	K.F.W.	20	10	2%	1/4%	Dec. 31 1996	Greenville Harbour Extensions
July 6	5,814,798.66	K.F.W.	20	10	2%	1/4%	Dec. 31 1996	Buchanan Water Supply
1977								
Feb. 8	5,473,736.00	K.F.W. ¹	30	10	2%	1/4%	2007	Six Cities Water Supply
April 29	7,000,000.00	I.D.A.	50	10	-0-	3/4%	2027	Upper Bong Agric. Dev.
May 5	4,342,860.00	A.D.B.	28	5	4%	3/4%	2005	Southeastern Education Project
May 26	6,300,000.00	I.B.R.D.	20	5	8.2%	n.a.	Nov. 26 1996	Third Education Project
Sep. 9	5,200,000.00	USAID	40	10	10 yrs.: 2% 30 yrs.: 3%	-0-	2017	Brewerville-Bopolu road
Dec. 29	7,000,000.00	I.D.A.	49	10	-0-	3/4%	2026	Upper Bong Agric. Dev.

ANNEX 26 (continued)

TERMS OF LOANS CONTRACTED JULY 1, 1976 - DEC. 31, 1978

Date signed	US \$ Amount	Source	Term Yrs.	Grace Period Yrs.	Interest rate	Commitment fee	Maturity date	PURPOSE OF LOAN
1978								
Jan. 1	6,600,000.00	USAID	39	10	10 yrs.: 2% 20 yrs.: 3%	-0-	2017	Upper Bong Agric. Dev.
Jan. 6	6,600,000.00	E.E.C.	39	10	8.2%	-0-	2017	Tartuke-Karlocke road
April 21	7,000,000.00	I.B.R.D.	19	5	-0-	3/4%	1997	Rubber Development
April 21	6,000,000.00	I.D.A.	50	10	7 1/4%	3/4%	2028	Rubber Development
June 2	13,800,000.00	I.B.R.D.	20	5	7 1/4%	3/4%	1998	4th Highway
June 9	7,128,275.00	C.D.C.	19	6	2%	-0-	1997	Rubber Development
June 12	11,000,000.00	Saudi Fund	20	5	2%	-0-	1998	4th Power
June 12	9,000,000.00	Saudi Fund	11	5	2%	-0-	1989	Tubman Bridge-Bomi road
June 28	23,000,000.00	China (P.R.C.)	22	10	-0-	-0-	2000	Development Infrastructure
July 7	10,000,000.00	I.B.R.D.	20	5	7 1/4%	3/4%	1998	4th Power
July 28	6,000,000.00	I.D.A.	50	10	-0-	3/4%	2028	Forestry
Sep. 4	3,430,335.00	K.F.W. ¹	30 ²	10	2%	1/4%	2008	L.E.C.
Sep. 7 ³	6,170,000.00	E.I.B. ¹	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	L.E.C.
Nov. 30	5,800,000.00	K.F.W.	30	10	2%	1/4%	2008	O.A.U.

Footnotes: 1. Guaranteed by Liberian Government.

2. Officially reported as September 31, 1977.

3. Author's estimate; details were not available.

4. Includes the first Euro-dollar loan of January 11, 1977.

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Finance's Annual Report 1977/1978, p. 29-32.

LOANS MENTIONED UNDER "A": Grace period less than 5 yrs.

LOANS MENTIONED UNDER "B": Grace period 5 - 10 yrs.

SUMMARY LOAN AGGREGATES:

July 1 - Dec. 31, 1976	\$ 8,814,798.66
Jan. 1 - June 30, 1977	55,180,596.00
July 1 - Dec. 31, 1977	29,649,280.00
Jan. 1 - June 30, 1978	131,159,275.00
July 1 - Dec. 31, 1978	130,900,355.00
GRAND TOTAL ¹	\$ 355,704,284.66

Footnote: 1. Includes the double counting mentioned in footnote 4 above.

ANNEX 27

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, BY COUNTY AND BY SCHOOLTTYPE AS COVERED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SURVEY (1978)

<u>County</u>	<u>Kindergarten & Pre-Grade</u>	<u>Elementary School</u>	<u>Junior High School</u>	<u>Senior High School</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Montserrado Co. ¹	4,833	8,259	1,635	547	15,324
Monrovia	2,544	17,322	5,735	4,412	30,013
Grand Cape Mount Co.	1,327	1,865	425	186	3,803
Grand Bassa Co.	3,353	5,805	653	165	9,976
Sinoe County	3,275	5,938	551	208	9,972
Maryland County	4,115	7,313	1,387	797	13,612
TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES	<u>19,497</u>	<u>46,502</u>	<u>10,386</u>	<u>6,315</u>	<u>82,700</u>
%	49.5	54.4	64.0	69.6	55.1
Bong County	3,145	7,217	1,192	719	12,273
Lofa County	5,630	10,167	1,825	958	18,580
Nimba County	7,458	16,010	1,956	713	26,137
Grand Gedeh Co.	3,672	5,579	873	369	10,493
TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES	<u>19,905</u>	<u>38,973</u>	<u>5,846</u>	<u>2,759</u>	<u>67,483</u>
%	50.5	45.6	36.0	30.4	44.9
GRAND TOTAL ALL COUNTIES	<u>39,402</u>	<u>85,475</u>	<u>16,232</u>	<u>9,074</u>	<u>150,183</u>
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: 1 Excluding Monrovia

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Table IX (p.53),
Table X-A (p.54), Table XI, (p.58A), Table XII (p.59-a),
Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, April 1979.

ANNEX 28

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN MISSION SCHOOLS, BY COUNTY AND BY SCHOOLTYPE
AS COVERED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SURVEY (1978)

<u>County</u>	<u>Kindergarten & Pre-Grade</u>	<u>Elementary School</u>	<u>Junior High School</u>	<u>Senior High School</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Montserrado Co. ¹	1,988	3,512	1,120	667	7,287
Monrovia	2,279	4,614	2,209	2,520	11,622
Grand Cape Mount Co.	363 ²	625	108 ³	-	1,096
Grand Bassa County	1,894	3,689	569	256	6,408
Sinoe County	1,003	2,002	607	323	3,935
Maryland County	918	2,087	569	396	3,970
TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES	<u>8,445</u>	<u>16,529</u>	<u>5,182</u>	<u>4,162</u>	<u>34,318</u>
%	71.9	65.6	68.7	79.7	69.0
Bong County	477	1,388	461	32 ⁴	2,358
Lofa County	725	1,929	282	253	3,189
Nimba County	1,401	3,997	1,210	541	7,149
Grand Gedeh County	696	1,351	407	236	2,690
TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES	<u>3,299</u>	<u>8,665</u>	<u>2,360</u>	<u>1,062</u>	<u>15,386</u>
%	28.1	34.4	31.3	20.3	31.0
GRAND TOTAL ALL COUNTIES	<u>11,744</u>	<u>25,194</u>	<u>7,542</u>	<u>5,224</u>	<u>49,704</u>
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: 1 Excluding Monrovia

2 Only pre-grade schools

3 7th and 8th grade only, 9th grade not being taught.

4 10th grade only, 11th and 12th grade not being taught.

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Table IX (p.53),
Table X-B (p.55), Table XI (p.58-a), Table XII (p.59-a),
Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, April 1979.

ANNEX 29

STUDENTS ENROLLED IN OTHER THAN GOVERNMENT AND MISSION SCHOOLS, BY COUNTY, AND BY SCHOOLTYPE AS COVERED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SURVEY (1978).

County	Kindergarten & Pre-Grade	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	TOTAL
Montserrado Co. ¹	2,908	4,622	941	98	8,569
Monrovia	3,141	5,152	1,489	2,558	12,340
Grand Cape Mount Co.	529	836	135	-	1,500
Grand Bassa County	786	1,483	147	239	2,655
Sinoe County	58	385	134	-	577
Maryland County	646	629	150	-	1,425
TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES	<u>8,068</u>	<u>13,107</u>	<u>2,996</u>	<u>2,895</u>	<u>27,066</u>
%	71.6	68.6	73.7	82.0	71.3
Bong County	721	1,191	229	71	2,212
Lofa County	241	447	-	-	688
Nimba County	1,872	3,755	828	565	7,020
Grand Gedeh County	361	607	12 ²	-	980
TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES	<u>3,195</u>	<u>6,000</u>	<u>1,069</u>	<u>636</u>	<u>10,900</u>
%	28.4	31.4	26.3	18.0	28.7
GRAND TOTAL ALL COUNTIES	<u>11,263</u>	<u>19,107</u>	<u>4,065</u>	<u>3,531</u>	<u>37,966</u>
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: 1 Excluding Monrovia

2 7th grade only, 8th and 9th grade not being taught.

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Table IX (p.53),
Table X-C (p.56), Table XI (p.58-a), Table XII (p. 59-a),
Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, April 1979.

ANNEX 30

NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SHOWING HIGHEST GRADE (1978)

<u>Highest Grade Offered</u>	<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade 4</u>	<u>Grade 5</u>
Number of schools	11 ^a	51 ^b	66 ^c	150 ^d	132 ^e
Cumulative Total	11	62	128	278	410

Notes: ^a of which 5 in Maryland County
^b of which 18 in Lofa County
^c of which 31 in Lofa County
^d of which 33 in Lofa County, 28 in Nimba County and 20 in Montserrado County
^e of which 33 in Nimba County and 25 in Montserrado County

Source: Author's research based on The National Education Survey, 1978, Table V (p. 49).

ANNEX 32

NUMBER OF TRAINED AND UNTRAINED TEACHERS BY MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS (1978)

	<u>TRAINED</u>	<u>UNTRAINED</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Government Schools	1,187	2,936	4,123
Mission Schools	545	1,310	1,855
Other - including Monrovia	324	880	1,204
- excluding Monrovia ¹	198	567	765
TOTAL ALL SCHOOLS (incl. Monrovia)	<u>2,056</u>	<u>5,126</u>	<u>7,182</u>

Note: 1 See for details by County Annex 34.

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Tables XVI, XVI-A, XVI-B, and XVI-C (pp. 64 - 68).

ANNEX 31

NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OFFERING LESS THAN 6th GRADE AND NUMBER OF SCHOOLS WITHOUT A SCHOOL SYLLABUS - AS COVERED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SURVEY (1978)

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>No. of Elem. Sch.</u>	<u>No. of Elem. & Sec. Sch.</u>	<u>Offer. less than 6th G.</u>	<u>No. of Sch. without SchSyl.</u>	<u>(3) as a % of (1)</u>	<u>(4) as a % of (2)</u>	<u>Elem. & Sec. Sch. (%)</u>	<u>Less than 6th G. (%)</u>	<u>Schools without SchSyl. (%)</u>
	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	<u>(8)</u>	<u>(9)</u>
Montserrado County	241	341	61	199	25.3	58.4	23.7	14.9	23.4
Grand Cape Mount County	40	54	18	18	45.0	33.3	3.8	4.4	2.1
Grand Bassa County	135	166	40	87	29.6	52.4	11.5	9.8	10.2
Sinoe County	121	148	31	59	25.6	39.9	10.3	7.6	6.9
Maryland County	96	142	34	107	35.4	75.4	9.9	8.3	12.6
<u>TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES</u>	<u>633</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>184</u>	<u>470</u>	<u>29.1</u>	<u>55.2</u>	<u>59.1</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>55.4</u>
Bong County	57	96	22	24	38.6	25.0	6.7	5.4	2.8
Lofo County	131	151	95	102	72.5	67.5	10.5	23.2	12.0
Nimba County	187	244	68	181	36.4	74.2	16.9	16.6	21.3
Grand Gedeh County	80	99	41	72	51.2	72.7	6.9	10.0	8.5
<u>TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES</u>	<u>455</u>	<u>590</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>379</u>	<u>49.7</u>	<u>64.2</u>	<u>40.9</u>	<u>55.2</u>	<u>44.6</u>
<u>GRAND TOTAL ALL COUNTIES</u>	<u>1,088</u>	<u>1,441</u>	<u>410</u>	<u>849</u>	<u>37.7</u>	<u>58.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Table II (p.46), Table V (p.49), and Table XX (p.71-b),
Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, April 1979.

ANNEX 33

EX-PATRIATE TEACHING STAFF BY COUNTY AND BY NATIONALITY (1978)

County	Liberians	Ghanaians	S. Leoneans	Americans	British	Indians	Others	Non-Liberians	Total	Total number of Teachers
Montserrado County	2,562	113	54	41	6	-	31	245	2,807	
Grand Cape Mount County	240	-	2	8	1	1	-	12	252	
Grand Bassa County	520	16	4	14	5	2	27	68	588	
Sinoe County	519	9	5	1	1	5	3	24	543	
Maryland County	581	5	1	8	1	4	5	24	605	
Bong County	450	14	8	8	4	-	11	45	495	
Lofa County	559	13	12	6	3	1	-	35	594	
Nimba County	747	47	12	40	14	6	69	188	935	
Grand Gedeh County	339	7	5	9	-	-	3	24	363	
TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES	4,422	143	66	72	14	12	66	373	4,795	
TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES	2,095	81	37	63	21	7	83	292	2,387	
GRAND TOTAL ALL COUNTIES	6,517	224	103	135	35	19	149	665	7,182	

Source: The National Education Survey, 1978, Table XVIII (p. 69).

ANNEX 34

UNTRAINED AND TRAINED TEACHERS IN OTHER THAN GOVERNMENT AND MISSION SCHOOLS - BY COUNTY (1978)

<u>County</u>	<u>Below High School</u>	<u>High School Grade</u>	<u>2-4 years College</u>	<u>B.A. / B.Sc.</u>	<u>M.A. / M.Sc.</u>	<u>Not Stated</u>	<u>TOTAL NOT TRAINED</u>	<u>TOTAL TRAINED</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
Montserrado County ¹	23	83	23	21	2	66	218	60	278
Grand Cape Mount County	3	38	-	-	-	-	41	-	41
Grand Bassa County	26	18	6	11	4	-	65	17	82
Sierra County	3	10	3	3	-	-	19	6	25
Maryland County	-	14	4	-	-	-	18	-	18
Bong County	6	27	11	6	4	-	54	3	57
Lofa County	4	5	-	-	-	7	16	2	18
Nimba County	24	54	8	35	1	-	122	103	225
Grand Gedeh County	8	5	-	-	-	1	44	7	21
<u>G R A N D T O T A L</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>254</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>567</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>765</u>
%	12.7	33.2	7.2	9.9	1.4	9.7	74.1	25.9	100.0

¹ Excluding Monrovia

Source: National Education Survey 1978, Table XVI-C, p.67.

ANNEX 35

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND NUMBER OF SESSIONS OPERATED - BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLS AND BY COUNTY (1978)

<u>County</u>	<u>NUMBER OF SCHOOLS</u>				<u>NUMBER OF SESSIONS</u>		
	<u>Government</u>	<u>Mission</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Elementary</u>	<u>Junior H & Senior H.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Montserrado County	155	83	103	341	407	169	576
Grand Cape Mount County	38	9	7	54	55	14	69
Grand Bassa County	97	50	19	166	171	33	204
Sinoe County	107	36	5	148	141	28	169
Maryland County	110	25	7	142	146	38	184
<u>TOTAL ALL COASTAL COUNTIES</u>	<u>507</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>920</u>	<u>282</u>	<u>1,202</u>
Bong County	66	17	13	96	116	47	163
Grand Gedeh County	76	15	8	99	98	18	116
Lofa County	121	23	7	151	146	30	176
Nimba County	171	35	38	244	281	94	375
<u>TOTAL ALL INLAND COUNTIES</u>	<u>434</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>590</u>	<u>641</u>	<u>189</u>	<u>830</u>
<u>G R A N D T O T A L</u>	<u>941</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>1,441</u>	<u>1,561</u>	<u>471</u>	<u>2,032</u>

Source: Author's research based on the National Education Survey 1978, Table II and Table IV (p. 46 and 48 respectively).

ANNEX 36

POPULATION, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, AND LITERACY STATISTICS : 1962 AND 1974 COMPARED.

	<u>1 9 6 2</u>			<u>1 9 7 4</u>		
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
Total Population	1,016,443	503,588	512,855	1,503,368	759,109	744,259
School Attending Pop. ¹	76,002	54,038	21,964	172,463	115,014	57,449
School Age Population.	851,061	421,926	429,135	667,828	332,178	335,650
Pop. 5 - 24 yrs.	380,012	186,297	193,715	667,828	332,178	335,650
Literates ² (Age 10 and above)	63,953	47,406	16,547	220,715	156,722	63,993
Illiterates (Age 10 and above)	653,346	305,748	347,598	831,004	372,539	458,465
Population (Age 10 and above)	717,299	353,154	364,145	1,051,719	529,261	522,458

Notes: 1. According to the 1962 Census this included all persons 5 years and over. The 1974 Population and Housing Census defined the School Age Population as the population between 5 and 24 years (both inclusive). For the 1978 School Survey yet another definition of this group would be used limiting it to the population between 6 and 18 year.

2. 1962 Census Report, p.xi: "Literacy in English", and 1974 Census Report, p.v.: "A literate person is one who can both read and write English."

Sources: "1962 Census of Population", Summary Report for Liberia, PC-B, Tables 12, 13 and 16, pp. 13, 14, and 17, (Office of National Planning, Monrovia, Liberia, 1964)
"Census of Population & Housing", Population Bulletin No. 2, Final Population Totals and Related Percentages With Some Salient Demographic Characteristics, Tables 1 and 3, pp. 1 and 72, and Table 7, p. xiii (Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia, Liberia, 1976).

ANNEX 37

PORT TRAFFIC 1941 - 1943 (Long tons)

PORTS	1941			1942			1943		
	Tonnage Loaded	Total Tonnage	Tonnage Landed	Tonnage Loaded	Total Tonnage	Tonnage Landed	Tonnage Loaded	Total Tonnage	
Robertsport	5	5	6,757	2,306	9,063	839	162	1,001	
Monrovia	4,964	5,465	4,613	1,079	5,692	7,357	866	8,223	
Marshall	21,613	32,628	19,147	11,956	31,103	13,257	14,313	27,570	
Grand Cess	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	7	
Harper	1,338	3,102	1,593	1,805	3,398	1,838	741	2,579	
TOTAL	27,920	41,200	32,110	17,146	42,256	23,298	16,082	39,380	

Source: "Export, Import, and Shipping Statistics for the calendar years 1942 and 1943".
Bureau of Revenues, Division of Customs.

ANNEX 38

TOTAL PORT TRAFFIC BY PORTS 1958 - 1979 (SELECTED YEARS)¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Monrovia</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Greenville</u>	<u>Harper</u>
1958	2,376,424(T) 2,077,720(i)	2	2	11,176(T) n.a.
1961	3,651,504(T) 3,103,880(i)	6,096(T) -	11,176(T) ³ -	23,368(T) n.a.
1964	6,187,440(T) 5,575,808(i)	6,956,552(T) 6,908,800(i)	- -	25,400(T) n.a.
1965	7,942,072(T) 7,264,400(i)	8,369,808(T) 8,331,200(i)	13,208(T) -	29,464(T) n.a.
1966	9,322,816(T) 8,568,944(i)	8,208,264(T) 8,128,000(i)	14,224(T) -	28,448(T) n.a.
1967	10,237,216(T) 9,544,304(i)	7,970,520(T) 7,823,200(i)	12,192(T) -	26,416(T) n.a.
1968	11,141,456(T) 10,363,200(i)	8,948,928(T) 8,839,200(i)	33,528(T) 31,496(t)	37,592(T) n.a.
1969	10,909,634(T) 10,058,400(i)	10,778,439(T) 10,566,400(i)	90,717(T) n.a.	47,755(T) n.a.
1970	13,405,151(T) 12,285,914(i)	11,520,984(T) 11,196,622(i) 24,925(l)	128,062(T) 98,653(t)	60,569(T) 25,874(t)
1971	12,609,187(T) 11,040,610(i)	10,499,571(T) 10,192,918(i) 22,122(l)	168,860(T) 127,761(t)	55,115(T) 26,104(t)
1972	12,567,639(T) 11,323,488(i)	11,794,068(T) 11,507,023(i) 66,462(l)	164,867(T) 158,111(t)	38,212(T) 23,259(t)
1973	13,964,279(T) 12,715,790(i)	13,163,732(T) 12,781,763(i) 22,174(l)	207,298(T) 192,803(t)	54,712(T) 24,794(t)
1974	13,524,612(T) 12,104,746(i) 12,398(l)	13,313,518(T) 12,979,033(i) 59,331(l)	125,064(T) 113,807(t)	37,680(T) 23,354(t)
1975	10,783,682(T) 9,568,595(i)	8,956,845(T) 8,616,413(i) 84,970(l)	159,988(T) 147,077(t)	33,667(T) 14,852(t)
1976	11,529,410(T) 10,248,569(i)	9,526,420(T) 9,140,000(i) 132,500(l)	253,649(T) 243,987(t)	57,421(T) 39,980(t)
1977	8,904,168(T) 7,667,633(i)	8,541,981(T) 8,238,900(i) 67,979(l)	216,417(T) 208,750(t)	45,638(T) 32,164(t)
1978	11,176,669(T) 9,849,595(i)	11,011,923(T) 10,788,170(i) 78,564(l)	248,128(T) 248,128(t)	60,065(T) 36,688(t)
1979	10,861,071(T) 9,333,609(i)	n.a. n.a. n.a.	362,139(T) 319,185(t)	54,292(T) 38,663(t)

ANNEX 38 (continued)

Notes:

- (1) In metric tons
- (2) Port not yet built
- (3) 1961 figure not available. The figure given is for 1962.
- (T) Total
- (i) iron ore
- (l) logs
- (t) logs and sawn timber

Sources:

- Economic Survey of Liberia, 1967, pp. 77-78
- Economic Survey of Liberia, 1969, pp. 96-99
- Economic Survey of Liberia, 1974, pp. 99-104
- Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, pp. 79-80

ANNEX 39

INTERNATIONAL AIR TRAFFIC PASSENGERS 1958 - 1979 (SELECTED YEARS)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Number of International Air Traffic Passengers</u>
1958	4,729
1961	22,150
1964	39,206
1965	40,526
1966	41,672
1967	43,076
1968	45,930
1969	47,683
1970	53,005
1972	53,652
1973	58,753
1975	61,661
1976	84,516
1977	88,041
1978	124,929
1979	126,452

Source: Economic Surveys of Liberia, 1967: p. 80; 1969: pp. 94 - 95; 1973: p. 83; 1978: p.59 and p. 61, and 1979: pp. 54 - 55.

ANNEX 40

LIBERIAN EXPORTS 1913 and 1917

<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>UNIT</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>		<u>VALUES¹</u>	
		<u>1913</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1917</u>
Calabar Beans	lbs.	195,201	25,920	\$ 27,463	\$ 1,662
Cocoa	lbs.	29,215	65,016	1,944	4,029
Coffee	lbs.	1,849,344	761,300	224,644	52,991
Ginger	lbs.	245,735	-	6,565	-
Ivory	lbs.	6,070	2,561	11,148	2,892
Palm Kernels	bus. ²	296,041	191,072	418,229	222,433
Palm Oil	gals.	778,554	336,407	175,316	96,244
Piassava	lbs.	12,570,017	5,911,903	352,717	156,972
Rubber	lbs.	90,371	69,835	41,187	64,456
				<u>\$ 1,247,728</u>	<u>\$ 618,136</u>

Notes:

- (1) U. S. Dollars
- (2) 1 bushel = 56 pounds

Source:

- Report of the Secretary of the Treasury
Fiscal Year ended September 30th, 1919, pp. 11-14

ANNEX 41

LIBERIA'S BALANCE OF TRADE 1922 - 1979, selected years
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EXPORTS</u>	<u>IMPORTS</u>	<u>TOTAL TRADE</u>	<u>BALANCE OF TRADE</u>
1922	1.0	1.5	2.5	- 0.5
1924	1.4	1.4	2.8	0
1925	1.9	2.1	4.0	- 0.2
1928	1.5	4.0	5.5	- 2.5
1929	1.5	2.1	3.6	- 0.6
1930	0.9	1.6	2.5	- 0.7
1931	0.7	0.9	1.6	- 0.2
1934	0.5	0.9	1.4	- 0.4
1935	0.7	1.3	2.0	- 0.6
1936	1.2	1.7	2.9	- 0.5
1937	2.0	2.0	4.0	0
1938	1.9	2.2	4.1	- 0.3
1939	2.7	2.0	4.7	0.7
1940	2.7	2.2	4.9	0.5
1941	4.2	3.3	7.5	0.9
1942	6.8	3.9	10.7	2.9
1943	9.0	4.0	13.0	5.0
1944	10.3	4.1	14.4	6.2
1945	11.3	5.8	17.1	5.5
1946	12.3	4.7	17.0	7.6
1947	13.1	8.8	21.9	4.3
1948	15.8	8.8	24.6	7.0
1949	15.5	8.2	23.7	7.3
1950	27.6	10.6	38.2	17.0
1951	52.1	17.1	69.2	35.0
1952	37.2	18.2	55.4	19.0
1953	31.0	18.7	49.7	12.3
1954	26.4	22.7	49.1	3.7
1955	42.8	26.0	68.8	16.8
1956	44.5	26.8	71.3	17.7
1957	40.4	38.3	78.7	2.1
1958	53.8	38.5	92.3	15.3
1959	66.9	42.9	109.8	24.0
1960	82.6	69.2	151.8	13.4

ANNEX 41 (continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EXPORTS</u>	<u>IMPORTS</u>	<u>TOTAL TRADE</u>	<u>BALANCE OF TRADE</u>
1961	61.9	90.7	152.6	- 28.8
1962	67.6	131.6	199.2	- 64.0
1963	81.1	108.0	189.1	- 26.9
1964	125.7	111.2	236.9	14.5
1965	135.4	104.8	240.2	30.6
1966	150.5	113.7	264.2	36.8
1967	158.8	125.2	284.0	33.6
1968	199.4	108.5	307.9	90.9
1969	232.8	114.7	347.5	118.1
1970	235.9	149.7	385.6	86.2
1971	246.6	162.4	409.0	84.2
1972	269.8	178.7	448.5	91.1
1973	324.0	193.5	517.5	130.5
1974	400.0	288.4	688.4	111.6
1975	394.4	331.2	725.6	63.2
1976	457.1	399.2	856.3	57.9
1977	447.4	463.5	910.9	- 16.1
1978	486.4	480.9	967.3	5.5
1979 ¹	536.6	506.5	1.043.1	30.1

Note: ¹ provisional figures

Source: Author's research based on: National Archives
(Unorganised)/MFA/M
Economic Surveys of Liberia, 1967 through 1979.

STRUCTURE OF LIBERIA'S EXPORTS 1968 - 1979

(in percentages)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
Iron Ore	59.3	58.9	63.9	65.1	67.7	60.7	65.5	74.4	71.9	61.1	56.4	54.0
Rubber	12.8	13.2	15.3	13.2	10.7	13.2	16.1	11.7	11.7	13.2	14.2	16.4
Diamonds	19.8	19.6	11.8	11.4	11.7	15.2	7.5	4.7	3.6	4.8	6.2	7.4
Forestry Products	0.8	3.0	2.5	3.2	3.0	5.1	4.4	3.7	7.6	6.6	11.3	10.9
Logs and Lumber	(0.8)	(3.0)	(2.5)	(3.2)	(3.0)	(5.1)	(4.4)	(3.2)	(7.1)	(5.8)	(9.6)	(9.3)
Sawn Timber	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(*)	(0.5)	(0.5)	(0.8)	(1.7)	(1.6)
Coffee	1.5	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.1	1.4	9.6	5.2	5.1
Cocoa	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.4	3.0	2.0
Palm Products	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.8	2.1	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.9
Other Domestic Exports	0.9	0.6	1.4	1.1	1.7	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.3
Reexports	3.4	2.3	2.5	2.8	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.8	2.0
TOTAL EXPORTS (F.O.B.)	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

(*) Less than 0.1 percent

Note:

- Percentages may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding

Source:

- Author's research based on Economic Surveys of Liberia, 1969 through 1979

ANNEX 4.2

MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS OF LIBERIA 1964 - 1979¹ (selected years) in millions of U.S. dollars

Year	1 9 6 4			1 9 6 5			1 9 7 0			1 9 7 5		
Country	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade
1. U.S.A.	57.1	44.1	101.2	50.0	49.5	99.5	49.5	46.4	95.9	86.9	104.2	191.1
2. E.E.C. ²	50.4	33.8	84.2	69.7	22.5	92.2	138.1	47.1	185.2	245.4	95.6	341.0
of which:												
West Germany	26.9	21.8	48.7	36.2	12.7	48.9	38.4	21.7	60.1	84.7	32.8	117.5
Netherlands	6.8	6.5	13.3	7.2	3.7	10.9	34.6	16.2	50.8	38.5	11.7	50.2
Italy	5.3	1.8	7.1	12.2	2.7	14.9	22.1	3.7	25.8	51.0	3.5	54.5
United Kingdom	14.2	10.7	24.9	10.0	10.5	20.5	18.9	11.1	30.0	8.2	31.5	39.7
France	6.1	2.4	8.5	5.9	2.1	8.0	14.3	3.7	18.0	31.9	10.3	42.2
Belgium	5.3	1.3	6.6	8.2	1.3	9.5	28.7	1.8	30.5	31.1	5.8	36.9
3. JAPAN	-	4.6	4.6	1.7	5.0	6.7	16.1	12.2	28.3	10.1	19.4	29.5
4. TOTAL 1 - 3	121.7	93.2	214.9	131.4	87.5	218.9	222.6	116.8	339.4	342.4	219.2	561.6
5. ECOWAS countries	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
of which:												
Sierra Leone												
Guinea												
The Gambia												
Ivory Coast												
Mali												
Nigeria												
6. Other countries	4.0	18.0	22.0	4.0	17.3	21.3	13.3	32.9	46.2	52.0	112.0	164.0
TOTAL	125.7	111.2	236.9	125.4	104.8	230.2	235.9	149.7	385.6	394.4	331.2	725.6

ANNEX 43 (continued)

Year	1 9 7 6			1 9 7 7			1 9 7 8			1 9 7 9 ¹		
Country	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Exports	Imports	Total Trade
1. U.S.A.	88.0	119.1	207.1	94.8	121.9	216.7	105.5	119.3	224.8	106.3	120.2	226.5
2. E.E.C. ²	300.5	134.1	434.6	280.2	159.7	439.9	292.8	171.2	464.0	361.8	174.4	536.2
of which:												
West Germany	126.4	49.6	176.0	107.2	42.6	149.8	108.9	52.6	161.5	137.4	56.5	193.9
Netherlands	25.7	23.9	49.6	32.7	39.9	72.6	28.7	22.0	50.7	37.7	36.2	73.9
Italy	63.9	11.1	75.0	58.7	20.3	79.0	54.9	20.5	75.4	56.2	16.2	72.4
United Kingdom	12.0	32.8	44.8	16.0	33.3	49.3	14.6	44.0	58.6	21.1	41.1	62.2
France	38.0	10.4	48.4	37.8	16.7	54.5	47.6	22.9	70.5	59.0	19.0	78.0
Belgium	34.5	6.3	40.8	27.8	6.9	34.7	38.1	9.2	47.3	50.4	5.4	55.8
3. JAPAN	11.3	27.5	38.8	n.a.	40.7	40.7	4.3	38.7	43.0	5.1	34.6	39.7
4. TOTAL 1 - 3	399.8	280.7	680.5	375.0	322.3	697.3	402.6	329.2	731.8	473.2	329.2	802.4
5. ECOMAS countries	4.7	3.5	8.2	3.9	12.0	15.9	6.2	11.4	17.6	9.4	11.6	21.0
of which:												
Sierra Leone	.344	.945	1.289	.476	1.553	2.029	.127	2.006	2.133	.973	2.116	3.089
Guinea	.676	.250	0.926	.395	.483	0.878	.911	.587	1.498	2.990	.319	3.309
The Gambia	.031	.003	0.034	.113	.004	0.117	.290	-	0.290	.358	0.003	0.361
Ivory Coast	1.495	1.492	2.987	1.722	3.154	4.876	2.449	3.235	5.684	2.279	1.968	4.247
Mali	.553	0.009	0.662	.323	.016	0.339	.267	.206	0.473	.226	2.098	2.324
Nigeria	.250	0.057	0.307	.102	.117	0.219	.372	.267	0.639	2.111	2.348	4.459
6. Other countries	52.6	115.0	167.6	68.5	129.2	197.7	77.6	140.3	217.9	54.0	165.7	219.7
TOTAL	457.1	329.2	856.3	447.4	463.5	910.9	486.4	480.2	967.3	536.6	506.5	1,043.1

¹ Provisional figures

² In 1973, U.K. became a member of the E.E.C. and is included thereafter in the E.E.C. total.

Source: Author's research based on Economic Surveys of Liberia, 1967, 1975 and 1979.

ANNEX 44

DIRECTION OF IRON ORE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION 1977 - 1979

	1977			1978			1979		
	Quan- tity	Per- cent- age	Value	Quan- tity	Per- cent- age	Value	Quan- tity	Per- cent- age	Value
EEC Countries	13.6	78.2	205.2	14.9	71.6	196.3	15.5	77.9	223.8
West Germany	5.7	32.8	97.0	6.3	30.3	92.5	6.8	34.2	119.5
Italy	3.2	18.0	55.0	3.6	17.3	50.9	3.2	16.1	51.8
France	2.1	12.1	24.7	2.3	11.0	24.4	2.2	11.0	26.4
Netherlands	1.4	8.0	15.1	1.1	5.3	9.2	1.1	5.5	9.7
Belgium and Luxembourg	0.9	5.2	11.5	1.4	6.7	17.4	2.1	10.6	25.2
United Kingdom	0.3	1.7	1.9	0.2	1.0	17.9	0.1	0.5	1.2
Other countries	3.8	21.9	68.2	5.9	28.4	78.0	4.4	22.1	56.2
United States	1.3	7.5	24.1	1.8	8.7	20.4	1.5	7.5	19.1
Spain	1.1	6.3	21.9	1.1	5.3	18.9	0.6	3.0	7.5
Canada	0.2	1.1	3.4	0.6	2.9	7.3	0.6	3.0	7.2
Sweden	0.1	0.7	1.8	0.1	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Japan	0.2	1.1	3.3	0.2	1.0	2.9	0.3	1.5	4.1
Others	0.9	5.2	3.8	2.1	10.0	27.0	1.4	7.1	14.8
Total	17.4	100.0	273.5	20.8	100.0	274.2	19.9	100.0	280.0

Source:

-Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 112

ANNEX 45

VALUE OF IMPORTS BY ECONOMIC END USE 1971 - 1979. (in million of U.S. dollars)

ECONOMIC END USE	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 ¹
<u>Consumption Goods</u>	<u>48.2</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>58.3</u>	<u>73.2</u>	<u>73.4</u>	<u>83.1</u>	<u>122.8</u>	<u>125.3</u>	<u>131.5</u>
Food	23.4	20.9	27.6	34.8	35.0	37.8	52.0	56.0	63.2
Durables	3.8	3.0	3.6	5.9	5.4	7.0	11.8	8.4	6.6
Semi-Durables	10.9	14.7	13.7	18.1	15.9	19.2	32.3	26.2	24.5
Non-Durables	7.8	7.3	9.8	10.9	13.0	14.1	19.6	25.1	27.1
Transport Equipment	2.3	3.0	3.6	3.5	4.1	5.0	7.1	9.6	10.1
<u>Investment Goods</u>	<u>28.7</u>	<u>36.7</u>	<u>49.7</u>	<u>58.4</u>	<u>81.3</u>	<u>90.5</u>	<u>113.8</u>	<u>112.4</u>	<u>112.9</u>
Machinery	9.3	14.6	26.6	26.4	39.3	46.9	63.0	50.4	53.0
Transport Equipment	8.9	10.8	10.5	17.5	19.7	14.1	27.1	33.8	30.6
Parts	10.5	11.3	12.6	14.5	22.3	29.5	23.7	28.2	29.3
<u>Raw Materials</u>	<u>85.5</u>	<u>93.1</u>	<u>85.5</u>	<u>156.8</u>	<u>176.5</u>	<u>225.6</u>	<u>226.9</u>	<u>243.1</u>	<u>262.1</u>
Crude Oil	9.6	10.2	11.6	53.2	44.4	53.1	68.7	84.6	103.2
Construction	9.1	10.3	9.3	16.2	23.9	34.5	33.1	23.1	18.7
Other Material	66.8	72.6	64.6	87.4	108.2	138.0	125.1	135.4	140.2
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>162.4</u>	<u>178.7</u>	<u>193.5</u>	<u>288.4</u>	<u>331.2</u>	<u>399.2</u>	<u>463.5</u>	<u>480.8</u>	<u>506.5</u>

Note: ¹ Provisional figures

Source: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1977, Table IV - 4
Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, Table IV - 5

ANNEX 46

STRUCTURE OF IMPORTS BY ECONOMIC END USE 1971 - 1979. (in percentages)

ECONOMIC END-USE	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 ¹
<u>Consumption goods</u>	<u>29.7</u>	<u>27.4</u>	<u>30.1</u>	<u>25.4</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>26.1</u>	<u>26.0</u>
Food	14.4	11.7	14.3	12.1	10.6	9.5	11.2	11.6	12.5
Durables	2.3	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.6	1.8	2.5	1.7	1.3
Semi-Durables	6.7	8.2	7.1	6.3	4.8	4.8	7.0	5.4	4.8
Non-Durables	4.8	4.1	5.1	3.8	3.9	3.5	4.2	5.2	5.4
Transport Equipment	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.5	2.0	2.0
<u>Investment goods</u>	<u>17.7</u>	<u>20.5</u>	<u>25.7</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>24.5</u>	<u>22.7</u>	<u>24.6</u>	<u>23.4</u>	<u>22.3</u>
Machinery	5.7	8.2	13.7	9.2	11.9	11.7	13.6	10.5	10.5
Transport Equipment	5.5	6.0	5.4	6.1	5.9	3.5	5.8	7.0	6.0
Parts	6.5	6.3	6.5	5.0	6.7	7.4	5.1	5.9	5.8
<u>Raw Materials</u>	<u>52.6</u>	<u>52.1</u>	<u>44.2</u>	<u>54.4</u>	<u>53.3</u>	<u>56.5</u>	<u>49.0</u>	<u>50.6</u>	<u>51.7</u>
Crude Oil	5.9	5.7	6.0	18.4	13.4	13.3	14.8	17.6	20.4
Construction Mater.	5.6	5.8	4.8	5.6	7.2	8.6	7.1	4.8	3.7
Other	41.1	40.6	33.4	30.3	32.7	34.6	27.0	28.2	27.7
<u>TOTAL²</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Notes: ¹ Provisional figures

² Totals may not add up to one hundred due to rounding

³ In 1977 and part of 1978 the Liberia Refining Company (L.R.C.) did not operate and refined oil was imported. The figure for 1978 represents both crude and refined oil.

Source: Annex 45.

ANNEX 47

SECTORAL ORIGIN OF G.D.P. AT FACTOR COSTS
 - CURRENT PRICES - MONETARY ECONOMY 1973 - 1979

(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 ¹
<u>EXPORT-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>	<u>187.2</u>	<u>232.5</u>	<u>294.4</u>	<u>260.8</u>	<u>250.0</u>	<u>248.5</u>	<u>272.8</u>
AGRICULTURE	57.4	73.5	62.6	78.2	96.2	118.3	138.0
Rubber	(37.1)	(47.9)	(29.6)	(39.5)	(40.2)	(46.7)	(56.0)
Forestry	(6.0)	(6.4)	(13.8)	(18.2)	(25.0)	(35.0)	(40.0)
Other	(14.3)	(19.2)	(19.2)	(20.5)	(31.0)	(36.6)	(42.0)
MINING AND QUARRING	129.8	159.0	231.8	182.6	153.8	130.2	134.8
Iron Ore	(110.9)	(147.5)	(224.7)	(176.3)	(145.5)	(117.6)	(118.0)
Other	(18.9)	(11.5)	(7.1)	(6.3)	(8.3)	(12.6)	(16.8)
<u>DOMESTIC-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>	<u>188.0</u>	<u>227.2</u>	<u>264.7</u>	<u>307.8</u>	<u>383.2</u>	<u>421.5</u>	<u>477.2</u>
Manufacturing	(22.6)	(34.6)	(36.3)	(45.2)	(50.2)	(53.7)	(n.a.)
Construction	(15.0)	(21.4)	(28.8)	(37.9)	(44.1)	(50.1)	(63.0)
Government Services	(31.2)	(36.0)	(43.8)	(51.5)	(70.6)	(82.0)	(90.0)
Other Services	(119.2)	(135.2)	(155.8)	(173.2)	(218.3)	(235.7)	(n.a.)
<u>TOTAL G.D.P. AT CURRENT FACTOR COST</u>	<u>375.2</u>	<u>459.7</u>	<u>559.1</u>	<u>568.6</u>	<u>633.2</u>	<u>670.0</u>	<u>750.0</u>

Note:

(1) Provisional figures

Source:

- 1973 and 1974: Economic Survey 1978, p. 4.
- 1975 through 1979: Economic Survey 1979, p. 4.

ANNEX 48

SECTORAL ORIGIN OF G.D.P. AT FACTOR COSTS
- CURRENT PRICES - MONETARY ECONOMY 1973 - 1979
(in percentages)

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979¹</u>
<u>EXPORT-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>							
AGRICULTURE	<u>49.9</u>	<u>50.6</u>	<u>52.7</u>	<u>45.9</u>	<u>39.5</u>	<u>37.1</u>	<u>36.4</u>
Rubber	15.3	16.0	11.2	13.8	15.2	17.7	18.4
Forestry	(9.9)	(10.4)	(5.3)	(6.9)	(6.3)	(7.0)	(7.5)
Other	(1.6)	(1.4)	(2.5)	(3.2)	(3.9)	(5.2)	(5.3)
MINING AND QUARRYING	(3.8)	(4.2)	(3.4)	(3.6)	(4.9)	(5.5)	(5.6)
Iron Ore	34.6	34.6	41.5	32.1	24.3	19.4	18.0
Other	(29.6)	(32.1)	(40.2)	(31.0)	(23.0)	(17.6)	(15.7)
	(5.0)	(2.5)	(1.3)	(1.1)	(1.3)	(1.9)	(2.2)
<u>DOMESTIC-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>							
Manufacturing	<u>50.1</u>	<u>49.4</u>	<u>47.3</u>	<u>54.1</u>	<u>60.5</u>	<u>62.2</u>	<u>63.6</u>
Construction	(6.0)	(7.5)	(6.5)	(7.9)	(7.9)	(8.0)	(n.a.)
Government Services	(4.0)	(4.7)	(5.2)	(6.7)	(7.0)	(7.5)	(8.4)
Other Services	(8.3)	(7.8)	(7.8)	(9.1)	(11.1)	(12.2)	(12.0)
	(31.8)	(29.4)	(27.9)	(30.5)	(34.5)	(35.2)	(n.a.)
<u>TOTAL G.D.P.</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>AT CURRENT FACTOR COST</u>							

Note:
(1) Provisional figures
Source:
- Annex 47

ANNEX 49

SECTORAL ORIGIN OF G.D.P. AT FACTOR COSTS - CONSTANT (1971) PRICES - MONETARY ECONOMY 1973 - 1979 (in millions of U.S. dollars)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 ¹
<u>EXPORT-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>	<u>179.7</u>	<u>181.6</u>	<u>166.3</u>	<u>163.7</u>	<u>149.2</u>	<u>153.2</u>	<u>160.3</u>
AGRICULTURE	49.2	47.6	50.1	55.3	54.9	59.9	61.2
Rubber	(25.7)	(26.0)	(24.3)	(24.9)	(23.1)	(21.9)	(20.2)
Forestry	(9.8)	(7.5)	(12.5)	(16.4)	(16.4)	(21.2)	(23.3)
Other	(13.7)	(14.1)	(13.3)	(14.0)	(15.4)	(16.8)	(17.7)
MINING AND QUARRYING	130.5	134.0	116.2	108.4	94.3	93.3	99.1
Iron Ore	(118.2)	(125.0)	(110.3)	(103.9)	(89.7)	(88.3)	(94.2)
Other	(12.3)	(9.0)	(5.9)	(4.5)	(4.6)	(5.0)	(4.9)
<u>DOMESTIC-ORIENTED SECTOR</u>	<u>163.7</u>	<u>175.0</u>	<u>177.2</u>	<u>193.5</u>	<u>205.0</u>	<u>215.0</u>	<u>225.7</u>
Manufacturing	(20.9)	(26.0)	(23.1)	(28.1)	(29.2)	(30.7)	(n.a.)
Construction	(12.8)	(15.7)	(14.1)	(17.7)	(19.2)	(22.0)	(25.0)
Government Services	(24.5)	(27.0)	(29.2)	(31.0)	(35.1)	(36.9)	(39.6)
Other Services	(105.5)	(106.3)	(110.8)	(116.8)	(121.5)	(125.4)	(n.a.)
<u>TOTAL G.D.P.</u>	<u>343.4</u>	<u>356.6</u>	<u>343.5</u>	<u>357.2</u>	<u>354.2</u>	<u>368.2</u>	<u>386.0</u>
<u>AT 1971 FACTOR COST</u>	<u>343.4</u>	<u>356.6</u>	<u>343.5</u>	<u>357.2</u>	<u>354.2</u>	<u>368.2</u>	<u>386.0</u>

Note:
(1) Provisional figures

Source:

- 1973 and 1974: Economic Survey of Liberia 1978, p. 4.
- 1975 through 1979: Economic Survey of Liberia 1979, p. 4.

ANNEX 50

RICE IMPORTS 1942 - 1979

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount in pounds</u>	<u>Value in U.S. dollars</u>	<u>Average value 100 lb..bag</u>
1942	2,273,883	102,624	4.51
1943	2,959,211	223,195	7.54
1944	n.a. ¹	n.a.	
1945	n.a.	n.a.	
1946	n.a.	n.a.	
1947	n.a.	n.a.	
1948	4,389,400	n.a.	
1949	2,680,400	n.a.	
1950	3,304,700	n.a.	
1951	6,616,100	n.a.	
1952	11,695,500	n.a.	
1953	8,530,491	471,095	5.52
1954	22,973,926	1,123,380	4.89
1955	19,590,177	1,055,424	5.39
1956	26,362,392	1,430,752	5.43
1957	29,209,336	2,003,809	6.86
1958	20,770,304	1,049,103	5.05
1959	20,198,298	1,050,350	5.20
1960	61,312,244	3,110,958	5.07
1961	61,244,300	3,184,924	5.20
1962	61,267,978	3,911,780	6.38
1963	79,250,607	6,041,972	7.62
1964	96,727,735	6,012,007	6.21
1965	71,653,515	6,325,749	8.82
1966	102,073,900	7,536,492	7.38
1967	75,792,600	6,564,356	8.66
1968	100,331,591	8,681,268	8.65
1969	61,302,403	5,201,506	8.48
1970	108,049,351	9,771,147	9.04
1971	119,357,109	9,969,710	8.35
1972	92,123,313	7,777,026	8.44
1973	101,461,487	12,316,543	12.14
1974	76,059,676	15,828,295	20.81
1975	67,552,000	13,625,000	20.17
1976	82,599,000	12,897,000	15.61
1977	123,037,000	19,828,000	16.12
1978	134,303,000	22,934,000	17.08
1979 ²	163,167,000	26,001,000	15.94

Notes:

- (1) Not available
- (2) Provisional figures

Source:

- 1942-1974: Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation; Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.
- 1975-1979: Economic Survey of Liberia, 1979, p. 105.

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- LAMCO Files
- LBSEC Files
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27, 1951

Indenture of Lease pursuant to the Statement of Understanding
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Tax Agreement entered into by the Government of the Republic of

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Stock Purchase Agreement, dated December 17, 1962

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The Liberia Mining Company

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The LAMCO J.V.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

F.P.M. van der Kraaij was born in 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands on July 26, 1946. He entered Tilburg University in 1963 where he graduated in 1970 with a degree in Economics majoring in Development Economics and International Economic Relations. His doctoral thesis concerned Bolivia's economic dependence on tin and included research in Bolivia in 1968 and 1969.

In 1970 he was employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at The Hague in the Department of Financial and Economic Aid to Developing Nations. He left the Ministry in 1971 to complete a field study of social and economic problems in the Sahel regions of Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta and Niger. From 1972 until 1974, he taught economics at a secondary school in Haarlem.

From 1975 until 1978 he was associated with the University of Liberia, Monrovia, in the Department of Economics and in 1978 was the Acting Chairman of that Department in the College of Business and Public Administration. He also acted as Advisor to the Office of Fiscal Policy and Planning in the Ministry of Finance in 1978. He remained in Liberia until June 1979 doing field research for this study.

By coincidence, Mr. van der Kraaij was again in Liberia at the time of the coup d'etat in 1980 en route to Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, where he is a planning expert in the Fonds de Développement Rural for the Dutch Government.

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